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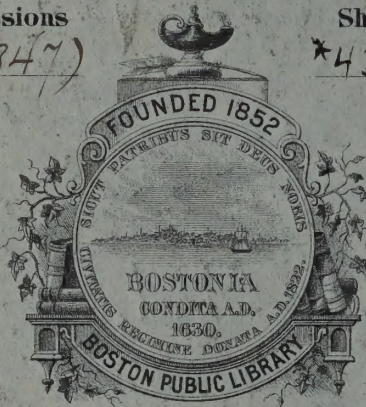
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THE
SPANISH LETTER

OF
COLUMBUS

TO
LUIS DE SANT' ANGEL

Escribano de Racion of the Kingdom of Aragon

DATED 15 FEBRUARY 1493

REPRINTED IN FACSIMILE, TRANSLATED, AND EDITED
FROM THE
UNIQUE COPY
OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION

(PRINTED AT BARCELONA EARLY IN APRIL 1493)

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PREFACE.

“THE greatest event which has happened since the creation of the world (leaving aside the incarnation and death of Him who made it) is the discovery of the Indies.” Thus said Lopez de Gomara, in dedicating his history to Charles V, three hundred and forty years ago. The eloquent Spaniard was, of course, unable to realise the full import of his words, which seem to have been touched with the spirit of prophecy. Even the centuries behind him contained facts which he did not know, and which are hardly understood in our own days. There is some ground for believing that certain parts of the North American continent were visited, eight hundred years back, by Norsemen sailing from Iceland and Greenland, but we have slender means of verifying the uncritical narratives in which the story is related. Nothing came of the achievement. It began and ended like a flash of lightning, leaving the Western horizon as dark as before. Systems of civilisation, not very unlike our own earlier developments, grew up, and flourished, and died (or survived) beyond the further shores of the Atlantic while Abelard, William of Ockham, Roger Bacon, and Albertus Magnus gave their powerful intellects to the discussion *de omni scibili*, and died unaware of the existence of the vast regions of the West. We must not, however, allow that the Middle Ages were so densely ignorant as many writers have asserted. Numberless surprises for modern students lie in the perusal of forgotten books, the contents of which lend peculiar force to the phrase of the Bible—“There is nothing new under the sun.”

A work called the *Fountain of all Science* was written towards the end of the twelfth century, in the form of colloquies; in which a king named Bocthus makes inquiries upon all matters of knowledge and speculation, and is answered by the philosopher Sidrach. The Oriental fashion of those names, in connexion with the fact that Saracens, not Byzantines, were the real heirs of Hellenic learning, is a curious circumstance for investigation by the student of literary history. Here it is sufficient for our purpose to observe that one of the subjects discussed in the book, is the spherical form of the earth and the possibility of making its circuit. The conclusion arrived at, is a conditional negative: the feat, although possible,—the time being calculated at three years, and the circumference of the earth at twenty-two thousand miles—would not be practicable by reason of physical difficulties and the changes of climate.

In the first half of the fourteenth century, the world was made acquainted, by

Marco Polo, with lands beyond the ken of Ptolemy, and men who studied geography learned that an ocean bounded Asia on the East, as an ocean bounded Europe on the West. With this knowledge, a spirit of exploration was evoked which became incarnate, soon after the beginning of the fifteenth century, in Prince Henry of Portugal. The efforts of the Portuguese in that century, to reach and turn the southern limit of Africa, so as to win by sea a passage to the golden shores of India—lost since the time of Alexander the Great, save in the glimpses afforded by Arab merchants and by Marco Polo—stimulated so keenly the desire for geographical discovery, that its fascination has not yet become inoperative.

Under the influence of that spirit, a Genoese mariner whom we call Christopher Columbus, set his heart upon traversing the ocean which he imagined lay between Europe and Cathay. His hopes were not realised, for he found what he had not sought ; but his efforts were crowned with the achievement so enthusiastically lauded in the first sentence of this preface, when he discovered the West Indies on Thursday, October 11th, 1492.

One of the chapters of the *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos*, by Andres Bernaldez, a man acquainted personally with Columbus, begins as follows :—In the name of God Almighty. There was a man of Genoa, a dealer in printed books, trading in this land of Andalusia, whom they called Christoval de Colon, a man of very high intellect without much book-learning, very skilful in the art of Cosmography and of the divisions of the world ; who perceived, by what he read in Ptolemy, and in other books, and by his own discernment, how and in what wise is formed the world into which we are born and in which we move. This he placed within the sphere of the heavens, so that it touches them upon no side, nor has aught of firmness to rest upon, but is only earth and water globed by heat within the hollow vault of the sky. And he considered of the way by which regions of much gold might be found, and esteemed that this world and firmament of earth and water is wholly traversable in circuit, as John of Mandeville relates ; and he who should have shipping at his need, and should be willing to hold on his course by sea and by land, would assuredly be able to pass by the West in a straight line from San Vicente, and return by Jerusalem to Rome and to Seville ; which would be the girdling of the whole earth and round of the globe. And he made, by his wit, a Mapa-mundi, and studied much therein ; and judged that from whatever part of the ocean he should begin his passage, he could not fail to meet land, and he deemed, because he saw this, that regions of much gold would be found. Glad with his notion, and knowing that the King Don John of Portugal took much delight in discovery, he repaired thither to win his inclinations ; and narrating the import of his reflexions, no credit was yielded him, because the King of Portugal had very eminent and well-trained mariners who esteemed not Colon, and who assumed that in the world there were no greater discoverers than they. Whereupon Christoval Colon betook himself to the court of the King Don Fernando and the Queen Doña Isabel, and made to them a relation of his ideas, to which they likewise gave but little heed. And he discoursed with them, and said that he was sure of what he told them ; and explained to them the Mapa-mundi, so that he made them long to know of those lands. Quitting him, they

summoned wise astrologers and astronomers, and courtiers skilled in cosmography, from whom they took advice. And the opinion of most of them, upon hearing the discourse of Christoval Colon, was that he spoke truth; insomuch that the King and the Queen became strongly trustful in him, and ordered that three ships should be given him at Seville, manned and victualled for the time that he required; and sent him, in the name of God and of our Lady, forth to make discoveries.—

In this chapter of Bernaldez, who proceeds to narrate the events of the voyage as told by Columbus himself in the document written to the sovereigns—as appears from several indications throughout the text—there is no allusion to certain circumstances which must be supplied from the *Historia de las Indias* of Bartolomé de las Casas, who was likewise a friend of the Admiral. He states that the result of the conference with philosophers, cosmographers, and astrologers, was a flat contradiction of the project of Columbus, and that “all in one voice said that it was complete folly and vanity.” Dismissed and disappointed, Columbus quitted Granada and took the road for Cordova in order to carry his schemes to the French court. Here we may go on in the words of Las Casas :—

Amongst other persons who gave him aid at court, and desired that his task should be fulfilled and promoted, was that Luis de Santangel whom we mentioned above, the *Escribano de Raciones*. He was as much and as exceedingly grieved and saddened by this second and final rejection, without any hope, as though he had personally suffered it in some matter little less than life itself. Seeing Cristobal Colon thus dismissed, and being unable to endure the damage and disparagement which he deemed the sovereigns would incur, by losing the great benefits and riches which Cristobal Colon promised, if his words came true, and by letting another Christian king obtain them; as well as the degradation of their royal authority—which was so much esteemed in the world—through the lack of spirit to venture so trifling a cost for a gain so infinite—he, trusting in God, and in his intimacy with the sovereigns, or their estimation of his fidelity and of the desire which they knew he had to serve them, went boldly to the Queen, and spoke to her thus. “Lady, the desire which I have ever had to serve the King my Lord, and your Highness, insomuch that if it were necessary I would die for your royal service—has constrained me to appear before your Highness, in order to speak upon a matter which is no concern of mine, and which I am aware lies outside of the duties or limits of my office . . . I have wondered much that your Highness did not accept an empire such as this Columbus has offered . . . this business is of such a quality that if what your Highness thinks difficult or impossible, should be proposed to another King and should prove successful, as this man says—and to any one who cares to understand, he gives good reasons for it—the result would be a manifest lessening of the credit of your Highness, and an injury to your kingdom. . . . Further, Lady, since what he asks for now is nothing but a million [of maravedis], and as it may be said that your Highness lets him go in order not to expend such an amount, it would indeed be of ill report; and it is in no wise fitting that your Highness should draw back from an emprise so great, even though it were much more uncertain.” The Catholic Queen, then, recognizing the good intention, and

the zeal in her service, of Luis de Santangel, said that his desire was very pleasing to her, as well as his counsel, which she thought it well to take, but that the matter must be deferred for a time until there should be more ease and leisure, as he could see in what straits they were already by reason of those wars which had been so protracted ; “ however, if it seem to you, Santangel,” said the Queen, “ that this man cannot brook any longer delay, I am willing to raise, upon my own private jewels, the money which he needs for fitting out his expedition, and arrangements therefor may immediately be set in course.” Luis de Santangel went upon his knees, and kissed the hands of the Queen, in gratitude for the confidence in his judgment which she evinced in agreeing to an affair which was held so doubtful, and which every one opposed. And he added, “ Most serene Lady, there is no need that, for this, your Highness’s jewels should be pawned : it will be but a small service I shall render to your Highness, and to the King, my Lord, in lending the million from my own house, but let your Highness order Columbus to be sent for, who has, I believe, already gone.” The Queen at once commanded that an officer of the court should post after Cristobal Colon, to say that she bade him to return, and should bring him back. The alguacil found him two leagues from Granada, at the bridge of Pinos. Columbus returned with the officer, and was joyfully received by Santangel. When the Queen knew that he was come, she straightway gave order to the Secretary, Juan de Coloma, that he should with all speed apply himself to making out the letters of commission, and all such warrants as Columbus should allege to be necessary and require for his whole voyage and discovery. . . . In conclusion, this work, so heroic and stupendous in its nature and vastness, had to be begun with the aid of a million (of maravedis) lent by a servant of the sovereigns, a man of no great wealth ; whereas no eyes have seen, no ears have heard, no heart has imagined, anything like the treasures which have since then poured into Castile from the Indies, and been lavished away by the Kings of Castile.—So far Las Casas.

Furnished with his commission, Columbus started for Palos, and there entered into negotiations to obtain the services of the three brothers Pinzon, rich and renowned mariners. The million lent by Santangel proved insufficient for the purpose in view, and Martin Alonso Pinzon advanced another half-million to the new Admiral ; with which Columbus was enabled to complete all his arrangements. Three caravels were fitted out. In the Capitana, Columbus himself took the command with forty men ; Martin Alonso Pinzon went as commander, with his brother Francisco as captain, in the Pinta, the fastest sailer of the three ; and Vicente Yañez Pinzon sailed in the Nina.

Early in the morning of the 3rd August, 1492, they weighed anchor and started from the little island of Saltes, opposite Huelva, in the port of Palos ; and early in the morning of Friday, the 12th October, they sighted Guanahani, which is generally considered identical with Watling Island in the Bahamas. The voyage had thus occupied seventy-one days ; and the statement in Columbus’ printed letter that it was thirty-three days is usually supposed to be a blunder. Such is not the case. He reckoned only from the time of quitting the known outposts of Christendom, and his calculation of thirty-three days began when his ships, lying becalmed on the 7th September between Teneriffe and Gomera in the Canary Islands, were enabled

to start on the following day with a N.E. wind, which bore them out into the ocean. Thus twenty-two days of September and eleven of October constituted what he regarded as the duration of his passage from land to land, from Christendom to the Indies.

All the circumstances of the voyage are familiar to the world. The chief authority is Columbus' own diary carefully written up day by day in the form of a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella. The original has long disappeared, but Las Casas, about 1520, made an abridged copy of it, occasionally giving the exact text, when he considered it impressive. This transcript still exists, and was published by Navarrete in 1825 (Coleccion, Tomo I). We also find it embodied in the *Historia de las Indias* of Las Casas, a great and invaluable work printed for the first time in 1875. It is manifest from an examination of the text that Columbus never failed in the duty of writing his daily record, notwithstanding all the trials of mental anguish, of troubles with his fellow-seamen, of his constant labours and responsibilities, of the sudden joy that springs from hope realised in the midst of desperate risks, and in spite of the physical difficulties arising from winds and waves in commotion. Under such circumstances, it is easy to account for the blanks that occur here and there in the transcript made by Las Casas. The handwriting of the great Genoese, at the most favourable moments, was not very clear, as we can see by the facsimiles of holograph letters in the *Cartas de Indias*. What it must have been on ship-board in a boisterous ocean, we may imagine from the errors which appear in the various printed texts of the letter which we now reproduce in facsimile from the recently discovered unique copy of the first impression. That letter seems to have originated in the following manner.

On his return from the Indies, a terrible storm arose when he was approaching the Azores. From the night of the 12th February, until after sundown on the 14th, he was driven and tossed about under bare poles, with constant expectation of death by shipwreck. Fearing that the sovereigns would never learn the extent of his services, and dreading that his boys at Cordova would be left beggars in a strange land, the orphans of a discredited foreigner, he resolved to commit his story to the seas. He took a sheet of parchment and traced upon it as much as he could write about his great discovery; then wrapping it in a piece of cloth, well secured, he placed it in a barrel which was flung into the ocean. From the state of the sea, and the words "todo lo que pudo," we may conclude that the account was a very brief one, and would have been well-nigh illegible if it had ever reached the sovereigns to whom it was addressed. It is said by Ferdinand Columbus that he wrote the same letter in duplicate, and placed the second copy in another barrel, which was retained on board to await the moment of the ship's dissolution; but this statement is not found in Las Casas, and is probably a distortion of the fact that Columbus wrote the two letters about to be referred to. We may confidently assert that, under the circumstances, Columbus could hardly have managed to write more than a few lines; and that consequently the barrel-letter need not be confounded with any extant piece of his composition. It is, however, very likely that the experience of the 14th of February would have set him thinking in regard to the desirability of multiplying the record of his voyage. From Wednesday morning (the 13th) till the night of Sunday (the 17th) he was unable to

take any repose, and it was probably during the hours of night, when all active attention to the business of navigation was necessarily interrupted, that he applied himself to writing that compendium of his diary which we know as the letter of Columbus. However rapidly he might write, such a piece of work, regarded even as a transcript, must have occupied nine or ten hours at least, probably more. The likelihood is, that the night of the 14th and the morning of the 15th were given to the writing of the Carta al Escribano de Racion—our present letter; and that on the 17th and 18th, when the sea was a little calmer, he made or caused to be made a transcript or second copy of it, which he addressed to the Treasurer Sanchez. The latter was, as a matter of course, more neatly and correctly written than the former: the violence of the storm had abated, and there was more leisure to improve the roughness of the original, as well as avoid its defects. This is easily observable in comparing the text of the Sanchez letter, as printed for the first time by Varnhagen, from a manuscript, in 1858, with that of the present reproduction. Although, however, the fair copy of an author's draught composition is usually superior to its original, yet the Sanchez letter has not entirely escaped the fate of most copies; for there are some small matters, to be pointed out by-and-bye, in which its text is inferior to the other. With regard to typographical blunders in our Santangel first edition, one small error near the beginning may be particularised as showing that it followed an ill-written original. Columbus makes the statement twice—once near the beginning, and once near the end—that his outward voyage (from the Canaries) had occupied thirty-three days. In our facsimile it will be seen that the printer blundered; and gave in the first instance "ueinte," in the second "xxxiii." The cause of the error (which was corrected in the [Naples?] reprint preserved in the Ambrosian library at Milan) is easily traceable. If we examine the writing of Roman numerals by Columbus in the facsimiles given in the *Cartas de Indias*, we see at once that Columbus must have used "xxxiii." in the first place, and perhaps written the number in words in the second place. In his writing, "xxxiii" would, to inexpert eyes, look like "veynt," and was so read by the printer. This can easily be tested by any one who chooses to examine the facsimiles of the writing of Columbus, and takes the trouble to imitate his method of forming the numerals in question.

The words which express the date of the Santangel letter show that on the 15th February Columbus thought himself close to one of the Canary Islands; on the 17th he discovered that the land he saw was Santa Maria in the Azores, and he specified the fact correctly in dating the Sanchez letter on the 18th, when he was anchored close to the island and had sent a boat ashore. The weather continued very bad, with occasional mitigations, till the 22nd when an improvement set in. In the evening of the 23rd, he set sail for Spain. On the night of March 2nd, his vessel was again in great danger not far from the coast outside Lisbon; on the night of March 3rd a still more terrible storm arose in which nearly all hope of safety was abandoned; and on the morning of the 4th, he succeeded, much to the wonder of himself and the inhabitants of the coast, in entering the mouth of the Tagus. He then wrote to the King of Portugal, asking permission to enter Lisbon. On the 8th he had a letter from the King, who was at Paraiso, nine leagues away, requesting his presence there. He was received

with much courtesy by the monarch, notwithstanding the ill-will of the Portuguese officials who had already begun to show hostility. On the 11th he took leave of the King, on the 12th he decided not to make his way by land to Castile, notwithstanding the proffer of facilities from Dom João; and returned that night to his ship. At 8 o'clock on the following morning, he set sail towards Seville, and early on the 15th he crossed the bar of Saltes and entered the port of Palos. According to his own statement the return voyage had occupied twenty-seven days; in which calculation he included only the space of time between the 18th or 19th January, when he knew that he was in the vicinity of Martinino, and the 16th February, when he found himself close to the Azores. From the latter date onwards, his progress was a stormy and dangerous one, and cost him twenty-three days (as he calculates) beating about "this sea." His reckoning is evidently meant to comprise the time from the 18th of February when he had anchored in the Azores to the 13th of March when he quitted Lisbon for Palos. It had been his intention to write to Ferdinand and Isabella from Lisbon (adonde acordé escribir a sus Altezas) and we have no proof that he did not send some message announcing his return. But it is very improbable that he did so, when we know that he changed his mind on the subject of accepting Dom João's aid in travelling by land to Castile, and that he was prudently distrustful of his Portuguese friends. It is quite certain that he did not send off the Santangel letter till he reached Seville, since its postscript is dated March 14th. *A fortiori*, he would assuredly not have sent his important journal-letter to the sovereigns; and it is not likely, since he deferred the transmission of the Santangel epistle, that he would have risked the despatch of the improved copy of it which he had addressed to Sanchez. We have, besides, a reason in the date affixed to the Latin version of the latter, for supposing that it was still in his hands on March 14th.

With regard to the persons to whom Columbus addressed his compendious Letter, we have already seen good reason why his friend Luis de Santangel should have been considered a worthy recipient. As for Gabriel Sanchez, the Treasurer of Aragon, it must have been his official position only which prompted the navigator to send him the second copy, or fair transcript. His good-will was a matter of no small moment to Columbus in connexion with the expected "muy poquita ayuda que sus Altezas me daran." His rank as a royal minister was higher than that of Santangel, and his power to influence the King greater. Santangel had already been a successful intermediary with the Queen; Sanchez might be won over to perform an equally useful office with the King. However well-disposed Isabella might be, however large her independence in dealing with the states of Castile, Ferdinand was, after all, the real arbiter in their united councils. His strong will was not easily overborne by the sentimental enthusiasms of the Queen, and she, as most women would have done, usually gave way to him in all matters likely to lead to disagreement. That Sanchez was personally a stranger to Columbus, and a man with whom he wished to ingratiate himself, would have been a reason for addressing to him the fair copy, more carefully transcribed than the original written three days earlier and addressed to Santangel. Hence we find that the Sanchez text is better than the other, but in a few instances the Santangel letter is decidedly superior. Thus on the ninth line of the third page of the

latter we meet the word *mudase* which is perverted into *mudasen* in Varnhagen's Sanchez text ("si animum revocarent" in the Latin). Similarly in the eighteenth line of the same page *impeto* is a better reading than the Sanchez *effeto* and the Simancas *espeto*. On line forty-two of page 2, *Auan* is probably a better reading than *Nhan* in the Varnhagen Sanchez;—it is *Anan* in the Latin text and *Anhan* in Bernaldez. A decidedly clear instance of superior quality is shown in the passage relating to the way in which the Indians bear cold with the help of meats which they eat with many hot spices (*viandas [que] comen con especias muchas y muy calientes*). Both the Varnhagen Sanchez and the Simancas Santangel MSS. pervert *comen con* into *como son*, giving a totally different and feeble meaning to the passage. (The Latin text agrees virtually in the inferior reading.) The *que* which is missing in our Santangel folio by a manifest error, is also missing in those two MSS., and it was the absence of that word undoubtedly which led to the vapid *como son*. As the MSS. and the folio edition were not all taken from one original, this example serves to show that in the 15th February letter, in Columbus' own handwriting, the *que* was accidentally omitted; and that the letter of the 18th was not transcribed by himself but by some neat-handed copyist who, not having the *que* to suggest a verb behind it, mistook the ill-written *comen con* for two words very like them in appearance and apparently fitting in the construction. Again in the description of the Caribs, it is stated in the Santangel folio, that they eat human flesh (*carne humana*). This is a better reading than the *carne viva* of the two MSS., and is justified in Bernaldez and Las Casas. The word *harto*, in the beginning of the final paragraph, is preferable to the *cierto* of the two MSS.; so is *tornandose* preferable to *ayuntandose*. "Esto segun el fecho asi embreve" is better than the "Esto segundo ha fecho ser muy breve" of the MSS.—which was undoubtedly evolved from a secondary transcriber's consciousness that his original was a second letter, and that a longer one to the sovereigns had been written first. In the Latin, the phrase is correctly given, which shows that the form adopted in the two MSS. was not that of the original written on the 18th February. The specification of *twenty-three* days as the space of time during which Columbus had been beating about the European side of the Atlantic is found only in the Quaritch Santangel folio, and is plainly correct. It is a curious circumstance that the second *x* in *xxiii* is a very narrow and blurred letter in that impression, and unless examined closely looks like another *i*, which is one of the proofs that our folio served as the original of the Ambrosian quarto in which that number appears as *xiiii*. (In the Simancas MS. it is *trece*.)

As already shown, the primary existing authority, in point of fulness and detail, for the history of the first voyage of Columbus, is his own Diary, in so far as it was partly transcribed and partly abridged by Las Casas (or for him). But it was never published until 1825, although Herrera and others made use of it in the sixteenth century. The primary authority, in point of publication to the world, is the Santangel letter written by Columbus on the 15th of February, 1493, and printed, as the accompanying facsimile and the following observations will help to show, in the April of that year at Barcelona. The place of secondary authority must be assigned to the Sanchez letter (written by Columbus on the 18th of February, 1493), not in its original form—since the Spanish text was printed for the first time in 1858—but in the Latin version which appeared (at Naples [?])

and Rome) in 1493, and which was frequently reprinted and translated afterwards. Although the Santangel letter had been printed not merely once as above said, but also a second time in the Ambrosian quarto, before the publication of the Sanchez letter in Latin; those two editions must have been carefully suppressed by authority. Otherwise we could not account for the singular fact that no allusion is made to them by any of the writers of the sixteenth century, and that their very existence was unknown till the second edition was discovered about thirty years ago in the Ambrosian library at Milan, and the first was found last year in Spain.

I.

The letter to the Sovereigns, which was Columbus' principal record of his first voyage, has unfortunately perished, with the exception, as stated above, of certain extracts in the Las Casas compendium of its text. The account given by Bernaldez of that voyage is chiefly derived from the Santangel-Sanchez letter, but shows by a greater amplitude in some instances that he had had access to the Letter to the Sovereigns. The ill-considered theory started by Varnhagen in 1869 (in the preface of his *Carta de Cristobal Colon*, printed at Vienna), that the Santangel letter—as known to him in its Ambrosian representative—was *the* letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, is easily disposed of. The many references in Las Casas to the letter to their Highnesses, especially the extracts in which he gives the *ipsa verba* of the Admiral, including a frequent use of the phrase *Vuestras Altezas*, prove that the two were quite distinct, and that the Santangel letter was no more than a brief compendium of the other. Consequently, the *Carta de sus Altezas* can only be consulted in the following books :—

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|--|--------------------------|
| Las Casas (Bartolomé de) Historia de las Indias . . . 4 vols. 8vo. | |
| | <i>Madrid</i> , 1875 |
| Fernandez de Navarrete (Martin) Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos . . . 5 vols. small 4to. | |
| | <i>Madrid</i> , 1825 |
| Bernaldez (Andres) Historia de los Reyes Catolicos . . . 2 vols. 8vo. | |
| | <i>Granada</i> , 1856 |
| ——— (a better edition), 2 vols. 8vo. | <i>Sevilla</i> , 1870-75 |

II.

The Carta al Escribano de Racion—that is, to Luis de Santangel—finished on the 15th February, 1493, in the vicinity of the Azores, was kept by Columbus till the 14th March, when he was at Palos. It was then apparently sent off by courier to Barcelona, and accompanied the Letter to the Sovereigns, as is shown by the inscription at the end—“Contenida a otra de sus Altezas.” The dubious phrase *contenida á* has exercised the minds of many persons, unnecessarily as we think. *Contenida á* seems to mean no more than “accompanying,” or “received along with.” From Palos, then (and not from Seville, whither he went a few days later), he sent his Letter to the Sovereigns, and with it the letter to Santangel. This was on the 14th March, and, to judge from the date on the Latin Epistola, the Sanchez letter must also have been sent in company with the two others. We have the text of the royal answer, dated 30th March, 1493, and we

conclude, from its terms, that Ferdinand and Isabella had already had the Diary-letter of Columbus, and were anxious that he should go out again as soon as possible.

Of the Santangel letter, there exist the following editions :—

- 1 Folio, 2 leaves ; without date or place of impression, but printed apparently at Barcelona before the middle of April, 1493. Unique, in the possession of Bernard Quaritch.
- 2 Quarto, 4 leaves ; without date or place of impression, but printed probably at Naples about the end of April, 1493. Unique, in the Ambrosian library at Milan.
- 3 Quarto, 4 leaves ; without date or place of impression, but printed probably at no very remote period in Italy, in close imitation of the Ambrosian quarto. In the possession of Mr. Brayton Ives.
- 4 Facsimile of No. 1, printed at Paris in 1889, and London, 1891.
- 5 Facsimile of No. 2, printed at Milan in 1866.
- 6 Facsimile of No. 3, printed in London in 1889.
- 7 The text of No. 2 is reprinted in Major's Select Letters of Columbus, second edition (Hakluyt Society, 1870).

The MS. at Simancas, which is a transcript made about seventy years ago from a copy of uncertain age, affords no evidence as to whether its prototype was derived from the printed text of No. 1, or from a faulty transcript of the actual MS. original of all the texts.

III.

The Sanchez letter, as already shown, must have been a plainly written and improved copy of the Santangel text, differing only in its address and date. The date was 18th February, but it was retained by Columbus till the 14th March, and the latter date must have been added on the outside of this (as well as of the Santangel letter) since the Latin version is dated so. When this letter reached the court, at Barcelona, we cannot say. We know that the Letter to the Sovereigns must have been in their hands a day or two before the 30th March, and we know also that the Santangel letter was received with it. It is extremely probable that the Sanchez letter arrived at the same time ; but the earliest hint we have of the fact is that the Latin translation made by Leandro de Cosco (Cosco was a small town in Lerida, not far from Balaguer, in the kingdom of Aragon) was finished on the 29th April. It is consequently not impossible that Columbus, when he reached Barcelona about the middle of April (as Las Casas says ; Bernaldez only mentions the date of his arrival in Seville as 31st March), took the Sanchez letter with him.

There are the following texts of the Sanchez letter :—

MS. bought by Varnhagen in Valencia, written (if his judgment be accurate) about 1600.

Edition printed by Varnhagen (under the pseudonym of Genaro H. de Volafan) from his MS. ; small quarto, Valencia, 1858.

[The edition of the Carta de Colon, printed in 12mo. at Vienna in 1869, by

Varnhagen, under the appellation of *El Seudonimo de Valencia*, is not exactly a new edition of the text of 1858. He had come, in 1869, to think less favourably of his MS. The Ambrosian small 4to. had warped his judgment, and he began to suspect that his Valencia MS. was nothing more than a sophisticated copy of the printed letter to Santangel, made by some one who had already seen the Life of Columbus by his son, and the first decade of Herrera. That notion was contrary to all just reasoning. There can be little doubt that the Sanchez letter was a correct copy made for Columbus himself on the 18th February of his own autograph written on the 15th; that it is accurately represented by the Valencia MS.; and that the latter contains the best text of the Columbus letter. Varnhagen's misjudgment, however, led him to attempt a critical and eclectic edition in the little volume of 1869, based on the two texts, but giving the variants at the foot of the pages. Another erroneous notion which influenced him, was the curious fancy that there existed really no letter to Santangel or to Sanchez, and that the text was simply that of the Letter to the Sovereigns, with arbitrary modifications (such as the change of the address, the conversion of *Vuestras Altezas* into *Sus Altezas*, etc.) introduced by the first copyists. The absurdity of this idea will readily appear on comparing any of the passages of the genuine Letter to the Sovereigns which are given verbatim by Las Casas, with the corresponding portions of the Santangel or Sanchez letter.]

The Valencia copy had no postscript, but the Latin version of the Sanchez letter shows that the original must have had one resembling the *nyma* of the Santangel text, although probably shorter.

IV.

The Latin translation of the Sanchez letter was printed four times in 1493,—but once only with the date. Of the three undated editions we can simply conjecture that they were printed in that year. The one dated edition bears the name of the place and printer: Rome, Eucharius Argenteus. Two of the undated editions are generally believed to have been printed at Rome by Stephan Planck on the ground that their type is identical with what appears in some of the books bearing his name. The evidence is not sufficient, but we do not for the present suggest any other place or printer. As for the remaining undated edition, it is the most remarkable of all the four as having woodcuts, one of them seeming to be the escutcheon of Granada. Another matter worthy of remark is the number of lines to each full page. The dated Roman edition has 40 lines to a page. The two supposed Planck editions have 33, and 34, lines to a page. The edition with woodcuts has 27 lines to a page. According to the ordinary rule, with regard to incunabula, the edition of 27 lines should be the first, and the edition of 40 lines the fourth; that of 33 lines the second, that of 34 the third. The rule may of course be modified by circumstances. We are inclined to think that the 27-line edition was printed at Naples in May, 1493, the other two undated editions at Naples or Rome in May or June, and the Argenteus edition at Rome immediately afterwards.

Mr. Major has made too much of certain peculiarities of those editions. The order in which we should propose to place them is as follows:—

27-line . First;
 34-line . Second;
 33-line . Third;
 40-line . Fourth.

In Nos. 1, 2, the Treasurer is called Raphaelem Sanxis;
 In No. 3 " " Gabrielem Sanchis; and
 In No. 4 " " Gabrielem Sanches.
 In Nos. 1, 2, only King Ferdinand's name appears in the intitulation;
 In No. 3, we find Fernandi et Helisabet;
 In No. 4, " Fernandi ac Helisabet.

This is clearly a case of progressive improvement.

Mr. Major makes an elaborate use of the word Sanxis, to establish his theory of the order in which the first four editions were printed. He forgets that the intitulation of the Latin letter was not written by Columbus nor even by Leander de Cosco, and thinks that Columbus, "who knew Spanish so well, would not have insulted that dignitary [the Treasurer of Aragon] by converting his surname of Sanchez into Sanxis." The absurdity of this will appear when we state that the Treasurer's surname was Sanxis—the proper form in Catalonia and Valencia for the name which in Castile was called Sanchez. Almost throughout the whole of Aragon, the Castilian names Sancho, Sancha, and Sanchez, were represented by Sanxo, Sanxa, and Sanxis, the *x* being sounded (all over the peninsula, except perhaps in Old Castile) exactly as the English *sh*, while the *j* and *g* were also used precisely like the *j* and *g* in English. At present only Catalonia has retained the old pronunciation, and now, as in the 15th century, the only way to express in Catalan the sound of Castilian or English *ch* is by writing *tj* or *tg* (although occasionally we meet the barbarous compound *tch*). It is consequently just to assume that when we find in a letter transcribed in Catalonia, and translated into Latin by a man whose name indicates that he came from the neighbourhood of Balaguer, not far from Barcelona, the patronymic Sanxis used in two editions, and replaced by Sanchis, Sanches, in two others—the former must have been earlier than the latter. This plain deduction becomes all the stronger when we find that the 27-line Sanxis letter has, in its actual text, all the little points of correctness on which Mr. Major relies for showing the primacy of the 33-line Sanchis edition.

With regard to Raphael (for Gabriel) it is an undeniable error of the earlier issues, arising probably from the carelessness of the Neapolitan bishop who wrote the Latin verses found at the end of all the 1493-1494 editions, and who was probably the actual publisher of the Latin Epistola. It is not the only instance in former days of a confusion between Gabriel and Raphael, as students of historical documents must have observed.

The Neapolitan bishop just referred to was himself a Catalonian by birth, and, therefore, a fellow-countryman of Leander de Cosco. Mr. Major and Mr. HARRISSE both imagined that the name "R. L. de Corbaria" affixed to his Latin epigram was "a pseudonym for Leonardus de Carninis, Bishop of Monte Peloso in Naples." That is a purely gratuitous assumption. "De Carninis" is no doubt a Latinisation of his family name, but he evidently was accustomed to call himself R. Leonardus de Corbaria. Cervera Corbera, Corbière, and Corbaria are only four varying forms of writing the

name of a little town on the confines of Catalonia and Roussillon. It probably lay within the limits of the territory which the French crown had for some time held in pawn from the King of Aragon, and which was restored to Ferdinand by Charles VIII in the very year in which the Columbus letters were printed. The strain of extravagant eulogy which the Bishop uses to King Ferdinand in the verses above alluded to, and the significant circumstance that he ignores Queen Isabella, giving to her consort the title *invictissimum Regem Hispaniarum*, corroborate the obvious inference that he was a zealous subject of the crown of Aragon. It also strengthens our presumption that the intitulation of the Epistola is due to the same episcopal hand, and consequently aids in establishing the relative priority and posteriority of the editions. Thus, as already tabulated, we may conclude that the two editions with King Ferdinand's name only, and with *Raphael Sanxis* as the Treasurer, were the first; that the one with Ferdinand and Helisabet, and *Gabriel Sanchis*, is the third; and the fourth is that with *Gabriel Sanches*. (We have ignored the two undated Paris editions, which everybody assigns to 1494.)

V.

The one-sided and distinctly Aragonese influence under which the Latin Sanchez-letter was translated and published, as above related, render it quite unlikely that Dati's Florentine poem of 1493 was rendered from the Latin of Leander de Cosco. The seventh stanza of Dati dwells particularly upon the merits of Queen Isabella (whose name he gives thus, not as Helisabeta), and recites the list of her kingdoms as constituting the best part of the united monarchy. In the thirteenth stanza, we find "Questa Isabella e dispagna Regina." A remarkable error in the poem proves that Dati had before him either the Santangel letter with its Catalan peculiarities, or else a Latin translation of it made by some one who misunderstood them. (As there is no such error in the version of Leander de Cosco, who was familiar with Catalanisms, Dati's blunder shows decidedly that the Cosco Epistola was not his original, whether in MS. or in print.) The lines containing the mistake are as follows:—

Et ben che i qste parti caldo sia
Lastate elverno ce di gran freddura
i.e. And although in those parts it be hot

The summer and the winter, it is there of great coldness).

This singular statement is not in the original, and would never have arisen if the Santangel Spanish text had not been printed with the Catalanism of *yvierno* instead of *invierno*. Dati, or the unknown Latin translator whose lost version he was following, read the words *este yvierno* (in the passage "ay tenia a fuerca el frio este yvierno") as *este yvierno*; and, being probably a poor or careless Spanish scholar, understood them as meaning *summer and winter*, confounding the phrase with the Italian forms *estate e verno*. Thus while the original says "There the cold had great power this winter," Dati makes it "And though it be hot in those parts, in the summer and the winter it is of great coldness." We may read the verses, by a little effort, in a less absurd way—"And though in those parts it be hot in the summer, the winter is of great coldness"; but even then the point is not lost, which is the introduction of *summer* into the text. In Leander's

Latin, there not a word about the season : neither summer, nor winter is mentioned.—A few lines further on in the poem we find the words—

salvo che ce un isola all entrare
Dell india . . .

which correspond to the Santangel text “salvo de una ysla que es aqui en la segunda a la entrada de las Yndias.” Both, it will be observed, omit the specification of the Caribs which is so remarkable in the improved Sanchez text (“salvo de una isla de Quarives,” in Varnhagen’s edition; “excepta quadam insula Charis nurçupata” in Leander de Cosco).

The name *Mactanino*, a few stanzas later, which is Matremonio in the printed Santangel letter, serves to justify the theory that it was really from a corrected Latin version, not from the Spanish original, that Dati rendered his doggrel rhymes; but the date *quindici de Febraio* in the third stanza from the end, as well as the instances previously given above, make it clear that there was a Latin translation of the Santangel letter, purged of some of its errors, but introducing others, made in 1493, and sent to Florence; which must not be confounded with Leander’s Latin version of the Sanchez letter, sent, as we believe, to Naples. Mr. HARRISSE seems to think, very erroneously, that the see of Montepeloso was close to Rome. It is even at a considerable distance from the city of Naples, but the Bishop may have been in the latter city when he received Leander’s text.

All the preceding remarks upon the various texts of the Columbus go far to prove that the starting point in the entire process of transcription, impression, translation, and publication, was Barcelona. The Spanish text which reveals most Catalan peculiarities was therefore the first edition of the famous Letter, and there is no difficulty in deciding that the primary rank must be assigned to the Quaritch folio, printed probably in Barcelona.—Next in order stands the Ambrosian quarto, printed probably at Naples.—Third was the Latin translation (27-line edition) first printed as we imagine at Naples, and then reprinted in Rome. The superior advantage of the Latin language would account for the disuse and destruction of the Spanish texts, which were probably issued in but small numbers, and one of which (the folio) would assuredly have met with hostility from the home-authorities.

The Dati Italian version probably stands in equal rank with the printed Latin version, as far as chronological order goes; but as a free rendering of a translation, it is one degree further removed from the text of Columbus, and it is besides too much of an original composition to be reckoned with the ordinary class of translators’ work.

The Italian MS. fragment in the Ambrosian library, which is an unfinished transcript of a translation of the letter to Sanchez, sent by the Treasurer to his brother Juan Sanchez in Florence, has no bearing upon any of the matters alluded to in the preceding notes. We know nothing of its date as a MS., and it was apparently never completed. It cannot have been used by Dati.

In our reimpression of the Spanish folio Columbus, and in the collations which follow it, we pay no heed to such ordinary typographical blunders as the misuse of Gothic η for Gothic π , and vice-versa. Some corrections are made (but noted) where there were obvious misreadings of the text; and a clearer punctuation substituted for the faulty forms of the original.

M. K.



S E H O R por que se que aurci a plazer dela grana vitoria que nuestro señor me
 ha dado en mi viaje vos escrivo esta por la qñ sabreys como en veinte dias pase
 las cosas de la armada q los ilustrissimos Rey e Reyna nros señores me dieron
 de que yo falle muy muchas Villas pobladas con gente sin numero: y de las todas
 se tomado posesion por sus altezas con pregon y uñdora real estendida y non meña
 e contradiccion. Alla primera q yo falle puse nombre sant saluador a comemoracion de su alta magest
 ad el qual marañillofamente todo esto andado los indios la llaman guanabari. Alla segunda
 puse nombre la isla de santa maria de concepcion ala tercera ferrandina ala quarta la isla bella
 ala quinta la Isla Juana e asi a cada vna nombre nuevo. Quando yo llegue ala Juana seg
 uo la costa della a pñiente y la falle tan grande q pense que sea tierra firme la proñicia de
 carayo y como no falle asi villas y lugnares e ala costa dela mar saluo pequeñas poblaciones
 con lagente de las qñales no podia bauer fabla por que luego fayan todos: andaua yo a de
 lante por el dicho camino por lo deo errar grãdes Ciudades o villas y al cabo de muchas
 leguas visto q no hauiamos inonacion que la costa me leuama al seretion de adonde mi voluntad
 e uñdora por q el uñerno era ya ecarnado yo tenia proposito de bazer del al austro y tan bie
 el viento me dio a telate determine de no aguardar otro tiempo y bolai atras fasta un señalado puer
 to de adonde ebie dos hõbres por la tierra para saber si hauiamos Rey o grãdes Ciudades adou
 ero tres jornadas y hallarõ inñitras poblaciones pequeñas i gẽte sin numero mas no cosa de reg
 imiento por lo qual se bolniero yo entẽdia barto de oros indios q ia tenia tomados como conri
 nuamete esta tierra era. Villa e asi segui la costa della al oriẽte ciento i siete leguas fasta dõde fa
 zia fin del qual cabo vi otra Villa al oriẽte distica de esta diez o ocho leguas ala qual luego
 puse nombre la Española y fui alli y segui la parte del suentron asi como dela manana al oriente
 diez uñ grãdes leguas por linea recta del oriẽte asi como dela manana la qual y todas las otras
 son fortissimas en su maldad grado y esta en el sereno en ella ay muchos puertos en la costa de la
 mar si se acordare de otros q yo sepa en cristianos y fartos rios y buenos y grandes q es mara
 villa las dõde las vallas son altas y eñta muy muchas sierras y mõtanas altissimas si cõparacion
 de la isla de que se. todas son fortissimas de mil fechoras y todas adabiles y llenas de arboles
 de mil maneras altas i parecen q llegã al cielo i sego por dicho q iamas pierdo la foia segun lo
 puto el phedon q los rios verdos i tan hermosos como son por mayo en spaña i dellos stauã flor
 rios de bellas rãfuras i dellos enarratermino segun es su calidad i caraua el rui señor i otros pa
 rucos de mil maneras en el mes de nouiembre por alli dõde io andaua ay palmas de sus oco
 os de mareras q es admiracion verlas por la diformidad hermosa dellas mas asicomo los o
 otros arboles y frutes eternas en ella ay pinares amarantilla eay canpiñas grãdissimas eay en
 el i de muchas plantas de aues y frutes muy diuersas en las tierras ay muchas minas de me
 talle eay gente inñitabile numero. La española es maravilla la sierra y las mõtanas y las uñgas
 las campanas e las serras tan hermosas y grueñas para plantar y bõtar pacuar ganados de to
 das maneras para bõthidos de villas e lugares los puertos dela mar aqui no hauiamos bõthos sin
 villa rãdica no muchos y grandes y hauiamos aguas los mas rãdas quales traẽ oro e los arbo
 les rãdas e yerbas ay grandes diferencias de aquel las e de la tierra en esta ay muchos si rã
 nes y grandes minas de oro e de otros metales. La uñga de esta isla ay todas las cosas q be
 rãdas e bõthos ay a bõtho noticia ay non todos de bõthos bõthos i mugeres ay como
 los mareros con parte de un que algunos mugeres se cobriã uñ sola uñga i dõde sola de rã
 das esta cosa e ay q se quepa ello fãcer ellos no tienen fãdo ni ayo ni otras cosas
 de no por que no ay gente bõtho de esta y de hermosa estatura talno que son muy
 qñdalla no nene otras cosas salvo las rãdas de las cosas quando dõde sola fãcer
 qñdalla no nene otras cosas salvo las rãdas de las cosas quando dõde sola fãcer
 qñdalla no nene otras cosas salvo las rãdas de las cosas quando dõde sola fãcer

si numero: y despues q̄ los veyā llegar fuyan a no aguardar padre a hijo y esto no por que a ni
gundo se aya hecho mal antes a todo cabo adōde yo aya estado y podido hauer fabla les he da
do de todo lo que tenía así paño como otras cosas muchas si recibir por ello cosa alguna mas
sō así temerosos sin remedio: verdad es que despues que aseguran y pierdē este miedo ellos son
tanto si engaño y tan liberales de lo q̄ tienē que no lo crecian sino el q̄ lo viese: ellos de cosa que
tēgan pidiendo zela iamas dizē deno antes cōuidan la persona cō ello y muestran t̄nto amor que
darian los corazones y quierē sea cosa de qualquier quien sea de poco precio luego por qual que
ra cosa de qual quiera manera que sea q̄ se le depozello seā cōtentos: yo defendi q̄ nose les de
sen cosas tan suiles como pedazos de escudillas rotas y pedazos de vidrio roto y cabos de agu
getas: haū que quādo ellos esto podiā llegar los parecia hauer lamciōz ioya del mūdo. que
se acerto hauer vn marnezo por vna agugeta de oro de peso de dos castellanos y medio: y otros
de otras cosas q̄ muy manes valia mucho mas ya por blācas nuevas dauan por ellas todo
quanto tenían haū que fuerē dos ni tres castellanos de oro o vna arzona o dos de algodō fila
do fasta los pedazos de los arcos rotos de las pipas tomauan y dauan lo q̄ tenían como bestia
as así que me pareció mal: yo lo defendi y daua yo gracias mil cosas buenas q̄ yo leuaua por
que tomen amor y allēda desto se farā cristianos que se inclinā al amor e seruicio de sus altezas
y de toda la naciō castellana: e procurā de aiutar de nos dar de las cosas que tenē en abundā
cia que nos sō necessarias y no conocian ninguna seta ni idolatria saluo que todos creen q̄ las
fuerças y elbiē es en el cielo y creian muy firme que yo cō estos nauios y gente venia del cielo y ent
catamiento me recibian en todo cabo despues de hauer podido el miedo y esto no procede por q̄
sean ignorantes saluo de muy sotil ingenio y obres que nauegan todas aquellas mares que es
marauilla la buena cuenta que ellos dan de todo saluo por que nunca vierō gētē vestida ni semeian
tes namos y luego que lege alas iōias ē la primera isla q̄ hallē tome p̄forza algunos de los pa
ra que de p̄dicen y me diese noticia de lo que aya en aquellas partes e así fue que luego entendirō
y nos acellos quando por lengua oñenas: y estos han aprouechado mucho oy en dia los traigo
q̄ siēpre estā de proposito q̄ vengo del cielo por mucha cōuersaciō q̄ ayan hauido cōmigo y estos
eran los primeros aprouenirlos adonde yo llegaba y los otros andauan corriendo de casa e
casa: y alas villas cercadas cō bozes altas venit: venit auer la gente del cielo así todos hōbres
como mugers despues de baner el coraçō seguro de nos venia q̄ nō cadana grande ni pequeño
y todos trayaan algu de comer y debener quedauan cō vn amor marauilloso ellos tienē todas
las yslas muy muchas canoas a manera de fustes de rēmo de las maiores de las menores y al
gunas y muchas sō mayores que hñā fasta de diez cocho bācos: nō sō tan anchas porque sō
de hūn solo madero mas buena fusta notema cō ellas al rēmo porque van queno es cosa de cre
er y cō estas nauegan todas aquellas islas q̄ sō innumerables: y tratē sus mecaderiaz: algunas
de estas canoas he visto cō lxx y lxxx obres en ella y cada vno cō su rēmo en todas estas islas no
vide mucha diversidad de la fechora de la gente ni en las costumbres ni en la lengua: saluo que
todos se entienden q̄ escōla muy singular para lo que espero q̄ determinaran sus altezas por la
cōuersaciō de los de nuestra santa fe e la qual sō muy dispuestos: ya dixē como se daua de
c. vii leguas por la costa de la mar por la derecha línea de oñidēte a oriente por la isla iana segū el
qual camino puedo decir que esta isla es maior que inglaterra y escōla iantas por que allēde de
tas c. vii. leguas me quedo de la parte de poniente dos prouias que yo no he oido: ha vna de
las q̄ les llaman auau: adōde nascē la gētē cōcota las q̄ les prouias no pueden tener en lōgura
menos de l. o lx. leguas segun puede entender de estos iōios qu yo tengo los q̄ s̄ saben todo s
las yslas esta otra españoia e iercio tiene mas que la españa toda desde colanva por costa de
mar fasta fūte rania en uiscaya pues en vna quadra auouue dixxviii grados leguas por rec
ta linea de occident a oriente esto es para decir e v es para nunca dexar en la qual p̄sto
as tenga tomē a possessiō por sus altezas y todas sean mas abastadas de lo que yo
tengo por sus altezas que de las menores: y yo me voy a dar a la mar para

se y puedo dezir y todas las tengo por de sus altezas qual dellas pueden disponer como y tauer
placimete como de los Reynos de castilla en esta espanola en ellugar mas conuenible y mejor
comarca para las minas del oro y de todo trato asi de la tierra firme de aqua como de a quella
de alia del gran can adonde haura grand trato e ganancia de tomar o possessio de vna villa gran
de ala qual puse nombre la villa de nauadad: y en ella he fecho fuerza y fortaleza que ya acita ho
ras estar del todo acabado y he derado en ella gente que abasta para semejante fecho con armaz
y artellanas e vituallas por mas de vn año y fasta y maestro de la mar en todas artes para fazer
otras y grande amustad con el Rey de aquella tierra en tanto grado que se preciaua de me llamar y
etener por hermano e haun que le mudase la voluntad a hostender esta gente el mios suios no sabe
que sean armaz y andan desnudos como ya he dicho son los mas temerosos que ay en el mundo
alique solamente la gente que alla queda es para desfruir toda aquella tierra y es ysla sipligro
de sus personas sabiendo ser egir en todas estas islas me parece que todos los ombres sean con
tos con vna muger i asu maioral o Rey dan fasta: y entre las mugeres me parece que trabaja
mas que los ombres ni he podido en tender si tienen bienes propios que me parecio ver que a quello
que vno tenia todos hazian parte en especial de las cosas comederas en estas islas fasta aqui
no he hallado ombres mostrados como muchos pensauan mas antes es toda gente de muy lindo
acatamiento ni son negros como es guinea salvo con sus cabellos corridos y no secrian adonde ay
i peto de nublado de los rayos solares es verdad que se tiene alli grand fuerza puesto que es di
frinta de la linea i quinozial veinte e seis grades en estas islas adonde ay montañas grandes: ay tenia
a fuerza el frio este invierno: ni sellos lo sufran por la costumbre que con la ayuda de las viandas
comen con especias muchas y muy calientes en demasia: alique mostruos ni he hallado ni noti
cia salvo de vna ysla que es aqui en la segunda ala entrada de las yndias que es poblada de vna
gente que tiene en todas las yslas por muy feroces los quales comen carne humana estos tienen
muchas canas con las quales corren todas las yslas de india roban y toman quanto pueden ellos
no son mas diformes que los otros salvo que tienen en costumbre de traer los cabellos largos com
o mugeres y usan arcos y flechas de las mismas armas de cañas con vn palillo alcabo por dete
to de fierro que no tienen son feroces entre estos otros pueblos que son con demasiado grado de covardes
mas yo no los tengo en nada mas que a los otros: otros son aquellos que trata con las mugeres
de matremomo que es la primera ysla partiendo de espania para las indias que se fallan en la qual no ay
hombre ni guano: ellas no usan exercicio femineal salvo arcos y flechas como los sobre dichos de cañas
y caiman y obligan con launes de arambre de que tienen mucho otra ysla me seguran mayor que la
espanola en que las personas no tienen ningun cabello. En esta ay oro si cuento y de estas y de las o
tras traigo conmigo indios para testimonio: e concludio a hablar desto solamente que sea fecho este
viage que fue si de corda que puede de sus altezas que yo les dare oro quanto oviere menester con
muy poquita ayuda que sus altezas mandaran agora especia y algodón quanto sus altezas mandaran
cargar y almastica quanto mandaran cargar e de la qual fasta oy no se ha fallado salvo en gre
cia en la ysla de rio y el señorio la vende como quiere y ligualoe quanto mandaran cargar y es
ciauos quanto mandaran cargar e seran: de los y de lares y creo haer fallado ruybaruo y can
la e otras mil cosas de sustancia fallare que han en fallado la gente que yo alla dexo porque yo
no me he detenido ni en cabo en quanto el viento me aia dado lugar: de nauagar solamente en la
villa de nauadad en quanto dexe asegurado. Es bien aserado. Es ala verdad mucho mas ficiera
si los namos me siruieran como razón de mandara. Esto es hazto y eterno dios nuestro señor
el qual da a todos aquellos que andan en camino victoria de cosas que parecen imposibles: y esta
señaladamente fue la vna por que haun que de estas tierras aun fallado. Es el scripto todo va por con
lectura sin allegor de nista salvo conprendiendo a tanto que los oyentes los mas escuchauan e
uzgaban mas por fabla que por poca de dello asi que pues nuestro: el conde mor dio esta vic
toria. A nuestros Illustissimos Rey: Reyna e sus Reynos Señores de a otra cosa. Si de de toda

La christiandad deue tomar alegria y fazer grandes fiestas y dar gracias solenes ala sancta trinidad cō muchas oraciones solenes por el tanto en xalcaniento que haurán en tornando se tantos pueblos a nuestra sancta fe : y despues por los bienes tēporals q̄ no solamēte ala españa mas a todos los christianos ternan aqui refingero y ganancia esto segun el fecho a si embreue fecha en la calauera sobre las yslas de canaria a xv de febrezo año M^o. lxxxiij.

Faca lo que mandareys El Almirante

Anima que venia dentro en la Carta:

Despues desta escipto: y estado en mar de Castilla salio tanto vieto cō migo. sul y fueste que me ha fecho descargar los nauios po con aqui en este puerto de lisbona o^r que fue la mayo^r marauilla del mundo adōde acorde esciur a sus altezas. entoda las yndias de siempre ballado y los tēporals como eu mayo adōde yo fuy en xxxii dias y volui en xxviii saluo que las tornetas me adertado x. iij dias corriendo por esta mar: dicen aqua todos los hōbres de la marq: a mas ouo tan mal yuerno no ni tantas perdidas de naues fecha ba quatorze dias de marzo;

ESTA Carta en bio Colom A' Germano Beraciō
De las Yslas Halladas en Las Yndias: Lōcna
A Ora De Sus Altezas

CARTA
DE
CRISTOVAL COLON

AL ESCRIBANO DE RACION

LUIS DE SANT' ANGEL

SEÑOR,

Porque sé que avreis plazer de la grand vitoria que nuestro Señor me ha dado en mi viaje, vos escribo esta por laqual sabreys como en xxxiii¹ dias pasé á las Indias (con la armada que los illustrissimos Rey e Reyna nuestros Señores me dieron) donde yo fallé muy muchas islas pobladas con gente sin numero; y dellas todas he tomado posesion por sus Altezas, con pregon, y vandera rreal estendida, y non me fue contradicho. A la primera que yo fallé, puse nombre Sant Salvador á comemoracion de Su alta Magestad El qual maravillosamente todo esto ha dado:² los Indios la llaman Guanahani.³ A la segunda puse nombre La Isla de Santa Maria de Concepcion; á la tercera, Fernandina;⁴ á la quarta La Isabela;⁵ á la quinta La Isla Juana; e asi á cada una nombre nuevo. Quando yo llegué á la Juana, seguí io la costa della al Poniente, y la fallé tan grande que pensé que seria Tierra firme, la provincia de Catayo; y como no fallé asi villas y lugares⁶ en la costa de la mar, salvo pequeñas poblaciones con la gente de las quales⁷ no podia haver fabla, porque luego fuyan todos,—andava yo adelante por el dicho camino, pensando de no errar grandes ciudades ó villas; y al cabo de muchas leguas, visto que no havia inovacion, i que la costa me levava al Setentrion, de donde⁸ mi voluntad era contraria porque el invierno⁹ era ya encarando,¹⁰ yo tenia proposito de hazer dél al Austro; y tambien el viento me dió adelante. Determiné de no aguardar otro tiempo, y volví atrás fasta un señalado puerto, de donde¹¹ enbié dos hombres por la tierra para saber si havia Rey o grandes ciudades. Andovieron tres jornadas, y hallaron infinitas poblaciones pequeñas i gente sin numero, mas no cosa de regimiento; por lo qual se bolvieron. Yo entendia harto de otros Indios que ia tenia tomados, como continuamente esta tierra era isla;¹² e asi seguí la costa della al Oriente ciento i siete

¹ veinte in text.

² andado in text.

³ Guanaham.

⁴ Ferrandina.

⁵ Isla bella.

⁶ luguares,

⁷ q'ules.

⁸ adonde.

⁹ yvierno.

¹⁰ encarnado.

¹¹ adonde.

¹² This shows how erroneous it is to suppose that Columbus believed Cuba to be continental land even after his second voyage.

leguas fasta donde fazia fin ; del qual cabo, vi otra isla al Oriente, distincta de esta diez y¹ ocho leguas, á la qual luego puse nombre La Española.² Y fui alli, y segui la parte del Setentrion, asicomo de la Juana, al Oriente, clxxxviii³ grandes leguas, por linia recta del Oriente, asicomo de la Juana ; la qual y todas las otras son fertilisimas⁴ en demasiado grado, y esta en extremo. En ella, ay muchos puertos en la costa de la mar, sin comparacion de otros que yo sepa en Cristianos, y fartos rrios, y buenos y grandes, que es maravilla. Las tierras della son altas, y en ella muy muchas sierras y montañas altissimas sin comparacion de la Isla de Tenerife ;⁵ todas fermosissimas⁶ de mil fechuras, y todas andables⁷ y llenas de arboles de mil maneras i altas, i parecen que llegan al cielo. I tengo por dicho que jamás pierden la foja, segun lo puedo⁸ comprehender que los vi tan verdes i tan hermosos, como són por Mayo en España.⁹ Y dellos estavan floridos,¹⁰ dellos con fruto, i dellos en otro termino segun es su calidad ; i cantava el ruiseñor i otros paxaritos¹¹ de mil maneras, en el mes de Noviembre, por alli donde io andava. Ay palmas de seis o de ocho maneras, que es admiracion verlas por la diformidad hermosa dellas ; mas asicomo los otros arboles y frutos e iervas. En ella ay pinares á maravilla, e hay campiñas grandissimas, e ay miel, i de muchas maneras de aves, y frutas muy diversas. En las tierras ay muchas minas de metales, e ay gente inestimable¹² numero La Española¹³ es maravilla : las¹⁴ sierras y las montañas y las vegas, i las campiñas, y las tierras tan hermosas y gruesas para plantar y senbrar, para criar ganados de todas suertes, para hedificios de villas e lugares. Los puertos de la mar aqui no havria crehencia sin vista, y de los rios muchos y grandes, y buenas aguas, los mas de los quales traen oro. En los arboles y frutos e yervas, ay grandes diferencias de aquellas de la Juana. En esta ay muchas especierias,¹⁵ y grandes minas de oro y de otros metales. La gente desta ysla y de todas las otras que he fallado, y havido (ni aya havido) noticia, andan todos desnudos, hombres y mugeres, asi como sus madres los paren, haunque algunas mugeres se cobijan un solo lugar con una foja de yerva, o una cosa de algodón que para ello fazen. Ellos no tienen fierro ni azero ni armas ni so[n par]a¹⁶ ello, no porque no sea gente bien dispuesta y de hermosa estatura salvo que son muy te[merosos]¹⁷ á maravilla. No tienen otras armas, salvo las a[rm]as¹⁸ de las cañas quando est[an]¹⁹ con la simiente á [la]²⁰ qual ponen al cabo un palillo agudo, e no osan usar de aquellas ; que m[u]chas²¹ vezes me [ha aca]escido²² embiar á tierra dos o tres hombres á²³ alguna villa para haver fabl[a y] salir á [ellos dellos]²⁴ sin numero ; y despues que los veyan llegar, fuyan á no aguardar padre á hijo. Y esto no porque á ninguno se aya hecho mal, antes á todo cabo á donde yo aya estado y podido haver fabla, les he dado de todo lo que tenia, asi paño como otras cosas muchas, sin recibir por ello cosa alguna ; mas son asi temerosos sin remedio. Verdad es, que despues que aseguran, y pierden este miedo, ellos son tanto sin engaño y tan liberales de lo que tienen, que no lo creerian sino él que lo viesse. Ellos de cosa que tengan,

¹ o in text.² Española.³ clxxxviii.⁴ fortissimas.⁵ Cetre frei.⁶ fermosissimas.⁷ andabiles, probably so written by Columbus.⁸ puede.⁹ España.¹⁰ stavan florridos.¹¹ paxaricos.¹² Instimabile, so written undoubtedly by Columbus.¹³ Española.¹⁴ la sierras.¹⁵ especierias, probably so written by Columbus.¹⁶⁻²² The bracketed letters torn away.²³ á omitted.²⁴ The bracketed words torn away.

pidiendosela, jamás dizen de nó ; antes convidan la persona con elló, y muestran tanto amor que darian los corazones ; y quier sea cosa de valor, quier sea de poco precio,² luego por qualquiera çosica, de qualquiera manera que sea, que seles³ dé por ello, sean contentos. Yo defendí que no seles diesen cosas tan ceviles⁴ como pedazos de escudillas rotas, y pedazos de vidrio roto, y cabos d'agugetas—haunque quando ellos esto podian llegar, les⁵ parecia haver la mejor joya del mundo. Que se acertó haver un marinero por una agugeta de oro de peso de dos castellanos y medio ; y otros, de otras cosas que muy menos valian, mucho mas. Ya, por blancas nuevas, davan por ellas todo quanto tenian, haunque fuesen dos ni tres castellanos de oro, o una arrova o dos de algodón filado. Fasta los pedazos de los arcos rotos de las pipas tomavan, y davan lo que tenian, como bestias ; así que me pareció mal. Yo lo defendí, y dava yo graciosas mil cosas buenas que yo levava, porque tomen amor, y allende⁶ desto se fagan⁷ Cristianos ;—que se inclinan al amor e servicio⁸ de sus Altezas, y de toda la nacion Castellana ; e procuran de ajuntar de nos dar de las cosas que tienen⁹ en abundancia, que nos son necessarias. Y no conocian ninguna seta nin idolatria, salvo que todos creen que las fuerças¹⁰ y el bien es en el cielo ;¹¹ y creian muy firme que yo, con estos navios y gente, venia del cielo ; y en tal acatamiento¹² me recibian en todo cabo, despues de haver perdido el miedo. Y esto no procede porque sean ignorantes,—salvo de muy sutil ingenio ; y onbres que navegan todas aquellas mares, que es maravilla la buena cuenta qu' ellos dan de todo—salvo porque nunca vieron gente vestida ni semejantes navios. Y luego que llegué¹³ á las Indias, en la primera isla que hallé, tomé por fuerza¹⁴ algunos dellos para que deprendiesen y me diesen noticia¹⁵ de lo que avia en aquellas partes ; e así fue que luego entendieron¹⁶ y nos á ellos, quando por lengua o señas. Y estos han aprovechado mucho. Oy en día los traigo, que siempre estan de proposito que vengo del cielo, por mucha conversacion¹⁷ que ayan havido conmigo. Y estos eran los primeros á pronunciarlo donde¹⁸ yo llegava, y los otros andavan corriendo de casa en casa, y a las villas cercanas, con bozes altas : Venid ! venid¹⁹ á ver la gente del cielo. Así todos, hombres como mugeres,²⁰ despues de haver el corazon seguro de nos, venian, que no quedavan²¹ grande ni pequeño, y todos trayan²² algo²³ de comer y de beber que davan con un amor maravilloso. Ellos tienen [en]²⁴ todas las yslas muy muchas canoas á manera de fustas²⁵ de remo, dellas maiores,²⁶ dellas menores, y algunas y muchas son mayores que una²⁷ fusta de diez e ocho bancos. No son tan anchas porque son de un²⁸ solo madero, mas una²⁹ fusta no terná con ellas al remo porque van que no es cosa de creer ; y con estas navegan todas aquellas islas que son innumerables, y tratan sus mercaderías.³⁰ Algunas destas canoas he visto con lxx y lxxx [h]ombres en ella, y cada uno con su remo. En todas estas islas no vide mucha diversidad de la fechora de la gente, ni en las costumbres, ni en la lengua salvo que todos se entienden ;

¹ *pidiendogela.*⁴ *siviles.*¹¹ *eñlcielo.*¹⁸ *adonde.*²⁵ *fustes.*⁵ *los.*¹² *catamiento.*¹⁹ *venit, venit.*²⁶ *maioras.*² The *quier . . . quier* are replaced by *quierē . . . quien.*⁶ *allenda.*¹⁸ *lege.*²⁰ *mugers.*²⁷ *huna.*⁷ *farán.*¹⁴ *forza.*²¹ *cadavan.*²⁸ *hun.*⁸ *cervicio.*¹⁵ *notia.*²² *trayaan.*²⁹ *huna.*³ *sele.*¹⁰ *fuerças.*¹⁷ *conversasion.*²⁴ *en omitted.*³⁰ *traten sus mecadurias.*

que es cosa muy singular para lo que espero que determinaran sus Altezas para la conversacion dellos de nuestra santa fe, á la qual son muy dispuestos. Ya dixé como yo havia andado cvii leguas por la costa de la mar, por la derecha linea¹ de Occidente² á Oriente, por la isla Juana; segun el qual camino puedo decir³ que esta isla es maior que Inglaterra y Escocia⁴ juntas; porque, allende destas cvii leguas, me queda de la parte de Poniente dos provincias⁵ que io no he andado,—la una de las quales llaman Avan, donde nacen⁶ la gente con cola—las quales provincias⁷ no pueden tener en longura menos de l ó lx leguas, segun puedo⁸ entender destos Indios qu[e] yo tengo, los quales saben todas⁹ las yslas. Esta otra Española en cierco tiene mas que la España toda desde Co[libre en Cata]luña¹⁰ por costa de mar fasta Fuenteravia en Viscaya; pues en una quadra anduve clxxxviii grandes¹¹ leguas por recta linea de Occident[e] á Oriente. Esta es para desear; e v[ista] es para nunca dexar. En la qual,—puesto [que de to]das tenga tomada possession por sus Altezas, y todas sean mas abastadas de lo que io¹² sé y puedo dezir y todas las tengo por de sus Altezas quales¹³ dellas pueden disponer como y tan conplidame[n]te como de los reynos de Castilla—en esta Española, en el lugar mas conveniente y mejor comarca para las minas del oro, y de todo trato asi de la tierra firme de acá,¹⁴ como de aquella de allá del gran Can, donde¹⁵ havrá grand trato e ganancia, he tomado possession de una villa grande, á la qual puse nonbre la villa de Navidad; y en ella he fecho fuerza y fortaleza—que ya á estas horas estará del todo acabada—y he dexado en ella gente que basta¹⁶ para semejante fecho, con armas y artellarias, e vituallas por mas de un año, y fusta y maestro de la mar en todas artes para fazer otras; y grande amistad con el Rey de aquella tierra en tanto grado que se preciava de me llamar y tener¹⁷ por hermano. E aunque¹⁸ le mudase la voluntad á offender¹⁹ esta gente, el ni los suios no saben que sean armas, y andan desnudos. Como ya he dicho,²⁰ son los mas temerosos que ay en el mundo; asi que solamente la gente que allá queda es²¹ para destroir toda aquella tierra; y es ysla sin peligro de sus personas sabiendo se regir. En todas estas islas me parece que todos los [h]ombres sean contentos con una muger, i a su maioral, ó rey, dan fasta veynte. Las mugeres me parece que trabaxan mas que los [h]ombres. Ni he podido entender si tenian²² bienes propios; que me pareció ver que aquello que uno tenia, todos hazian parte, en especial de las cosas comederas. En estas islas, fasta aqui, no he hallado [h]ombres monstruos,²³ como muchos pensavan; mas antes es toda gente de muy lindo acatamiento, ni son negros como en Guinea, salvo con sus cabellos correntios;²⁴ y no se crian donde²⁵ ay inpeto demasiado de los rayos solares. Es verdad qu' el sol tiene alli grand fuerça, puesto que es distinta²⁶

¹ línea. ² Osidente. ³ desir. ⁴ Escocia. ⁵ provinsias. ⁶ adonde nasen. ⁷ provinsias.
⁸ puede, which may not be incorrect. ⁹ todos, which may not be wrong. ¹⁰ Colunya. ¹¹ grands.

¹² After the word *io* an extra-regular line follows at the bottom of page 2, containing very nearly the same words as appear in the first line of page 3: It is partly obliterated (by the printer himself?) and partly defective through the damaged state of the leaf; and runs thus [*se y puedo dezir y*] *todas las tengo por sus Altezas que dellas pueden disponer como y tan compli.*

¹³ qual. ¹⁴ aqua. ¹⁵ adonde. ¹⁶ abasta. ¹⁷ A superfluous *e* precedes *tener*. ¹⁸ haunque.
¹⁹ hoffender. ²⁰ dicdo. ²¹ *es* used in the sense of *basta*. It is so in all the texts. ²² tenien. ²³ mostрудos.
²⁴ corredios. ²⁵ adonde. ²⁶ didistinta.

de la linea equinocial¹ veinte e seis grados,² en estas islas donde³ ay montañas grandes. Ahi tenia⁴ fuerça el frio este yvierno;⁵ mas ellos lo sufren por la costumbre con la ayuda de las viandas que⁶ comen con especias muchas y muy calientes en demasia. Asi que monstruos⁷ no he hallado, ni noticia, salvo de una ysla que es aquí la⁸ segunda á la entrada de las Yndias, que es poblada de una iente⁹ que tienen en todas las yslas por muy ferozes, los quales¹⁰ comen carne humana.¹¹ Estos tienen muchas canoas¹² con las quales corren todas las yslas de India, roban y toman quanto pueden. Ellos no son mas difformes que los otros, salvo que tienen en costumbre de traer los cabellos largos como mugeres, y usan arcos y flechas de las mismas armas de cañas con un palillo al cabo por defecto de fierro que no tienen. Son ferozes entre estos otros pueblos que son en demasiado grado covardes, mas yo no los tengo en nada mas que á los otros. Estos son aquellos que tratan con las mugeres de Matinino,¹³ que es la primera ysla partiendo d'España para las Indias que se falla; en la qual no ay hombre ninguno. Ellas no usan exercicio¹⁴ femeníl, salvo arcos y flechas,¹⁵ como los sobre dichos, de cañas; y se arman y cobijan¹⁶ con laminas¹⁷ de arambre de que tienen mucho. Otra ysla me aseguran¹⁸ mayor que la Española en que las personas no tienen ningun cabello. En esta ay oro sin cuento, y destas y de las otras traigo co[n]migo Indios para testimonio. E[n] conclusion, á fablar desto solamente que sea fecho este viage que fue asi de cor[r]ida, que pueden ver sus Altezas q[ue] yo les daré oro quanto [h]ovieren menester, con muy poquita ayuda que sus Altezas me daran; agora [e]speciaria y algodón quanto sus Altezas mandaran cargar, y almastica quanta mandaran cargar—e de la qual fasta [h]oy no se ha fallado salvo en Grecia en la ysla de Xio, y el Señorío la vende como quiere —; y lignumaloe quanto mandaran cargar, y esclavos quantos mandaran cargar,—e seran de los ydólatras;¹⁹ y creo haver fallado ruybarvo y canela. E otras mil cosas de sustancia fallare que havran fallado la gente que yo allá dexo. Porque yo no me he detenido [en] ningun cabo en quanto el viento me aia dado lugar de navegar; solamente en la villa de Navidad en quanto dexé asegurado e bien asentado. E á la verdad mucho mas ficiera si los navios me sirvieran como razon demandava. Esto es harto: y [*gracias á ?*] eterno Dios nuestro Señor el qual da á todos aquellos que andan su camino victoria de cosas que parecen imposibles—y esta señaladamente fue la una; porque aunque²⁰ destas tierras aian hablado²¹ ó escripto, todo va por conjetura²² sin alegar²³ de vista; salvo comprendiendo á tanto que los oyentes los mas escuchavan e juzgavan mas por fabla que por poca cosa dello. Asi que pues nuestro Redemtor dió esta victoria a nuestros ilustrisimos Rey e Reyna, e á s[us] reynos famosos de tan alta cosa, donde²⁴ toda la Christiandad deve tomar alegría, y fazer grandes fiestas, y dar gracias solennes á la sancta Trinidad, con muchas oraciones solennes por el tanto enalçamiento que havran en tornandose tantos pueblos á nuestra sancta fe, y despues por los bienes

¹ *líña inquinocial.*² *grādes.*³ *adonde.*⁴ *ay tenia a.*⁵ *yvierno.*⁶ This *que* is transposed, and follows *costumbre* in the text.⁷ *mostruos.*⁸ *en la.*⁹ for *jente* or *gente*.¹⁰ *qualles.*¹¹ *umana.*¹² *canas.*¹³ *Matremonio.*¹⁴ *exercio.*¹⁵ *frechas.*¹⁶ *cobigan.*¹⁷ *launes.*¹⁸ *seguran.*¹⁹ *ydolatres.*²⁰ *haunque.*²¹ *fallado.*²² *conlectura.*²³ *allegar.*²⁴ *adonde.*

temporales que no solamente á la España mas á todos los Christianos, ternan aqui refrigerio y ganancia. Esto segun el fecho, asi en breve.¹

Fecha en la caravela² sobre las yslas de Canaria á xv de Febrero, año Mil. cccclxxxiii.

Fará lo que mandareys.

EL ALMIRANTE.

Nema³ que venia dentro en la carta.

Despues desto⁴ escripto, estando en mar de Castilla, salió tanto viento conmigo, sul y sueste, que me ha fecho descargar los navios; pero cor[r]i aqui en este puerto de Lisboa [h]oy, que fue la mayor maravilla del mundo, donde⁵ acordé escribir á sus Altezas. En todas las Yndias he siempre hallado los⁶ temporales como en Mayo. Adonde yo fuy en xxxiii dias, y volvi en xxviii, salvo qu' estas tormentas me[h]an detenido xxiii dias corriendo por esta mar. Dizen acá⁷ todos los hombres de la mar q[ue] jamás [h]ovo tan mal ynvierno,⁸ no ni tantas perdidas de naves.

Fecha á⁹ quatorze dias de Marzo.

Esta carta enbió Colom al Escrivano de Racion, de las Islas halladas en las Indias, contenida á otra de sus Altezas.

NOTE.

The preceding letter is on two folio leaves, or four pages, of which page 1 has forty-seven lines, page 2 forty-eight lines, page 3 forty-seven, and page 4 sixteen lines. The extra line on page 2 is almost illegible and seems to have undergone an attempt at obliteration by the printer himself. Its substance (with two small variations) is repeated on the first line of page 3. The Letter has no external mark of the date of impression, or of the place where it was printed. However, the Catalanisms which occur in its text—which we certainly cannot attribute to Columbus—show clearly that it was printed in the Catalonian part of Aragon, and consequently, as we may safely assume, in Barcelona in the April of 1493. A circumstance elsewhere referred to (in the account of Dati's Italian rendering into verse) proves that it is considerably anterior to the October of that year.

Four leaves of contemporary paper are stitched with it, and have been no doubt its companions for nearly four hundred years. Of those four leaves the first and second are glued together, and the whole four, as we may perceive from looking at the first of them, have served as "end-paper" and "fly-leaves" in a book in which the Letter was preserved from the year 1497 until some curious hand extracted it. There is writing on all the four leaves. The matter which fills the third and fourth was written evidently in Bruges in 1497; the matter contained in the first and second (pp. 1-3) is in the same hand, but has a direct Spanish interest.

The latter is a life of Saint Leocadia who was martyred in Toledo in A.D. 304. It is headed thus:

Incipit Confessio Sancte Leochade Virginis qu obiit in civitate Tholetana sub ydus Decembris sub Datiano preside. The first words of the text are: "In temporibus illis dum post corporeum Salvatoris adventum."

The other two leaves are less imperfect than those, and are endorsed

App^o intposita p. dnm Archiducem ad habitum Concilium.

It is a rather important document,—the Appellatio or Appeal presented to the Archduke Philip sitting in public court in his hall at Bruges, on the 12th May, 1497, by Johannes Rousselli, Lord of Hernetes, Procurator General or Fiscal of his Highness, against the harsh and exorbitant imposition of imperial taxes upon the people of the Low

¹ embreve.

² calavera.

³ Anima.

⁴ desta.

⁵ adonde.

⁶ y los.

⁷ aqua.

⁸ yvierno.

⁹ ha.

Countries. The mode adopted by certain tyrannical officials to increase the revenue (and benefit themselves both directly and indirectly) by enhancing levies and forestalment of dues, had terribly injured the states and caused many persons to fly the country. Even the rightful heads of ecclesiastical foundations had been in many places ejected by ignorant and avaricious strangers; and the condition of things called for such resistance to tyranny as St. Paul had prescribed.—Redress of grievances was promised by the Archduke. His pledge and the proceedings of the Council were witnessed in this formal document by

Gerardus Numan, Audientarius,	
Laurentius de Blitil, Grifiarius Ordinis Velleris,	
Johannes de Longavilla	} ordinary Secretaries,
Bartholomeus Le Fevre	
Hugo Le Cocq	
Johannes Le Borgne	

and many other counsellors and secretaries whose names are not given.

This curious adjunct to our text, in connexion with the life of the Toledo martyr, serves to make it probable that the printed Columbus letter, of which a facsimile is now offered to the world, was carried away from Spain by some one connected with Toledo who joined the suite of the Princess Juana, when she quitted Spain on the 22nd August, 1496, and sailed for the Low Countries to marry her promised husband, the Archduke Philip, to whom she was united at Lille on the 26th October of that year. The same man must have accompanied both Philip and Juana when the Prince went to Spain, with his consort, to visit Ferdinand and Isabella. On that occasion, in 1502, they presented to the Cathedral of Toledo, before they left for Alcala, *una reliquia grande de la gloriosa Virgen Leocadia, Padrona de aquella ciudad*. This statement, taken from the *Primacia de Toledo* of Castegon y Fonseca, printed in 1645, serves to confirm our theory and to account for the conjunction of the Leocadia legend and the Bruges Council decree in the manuscript leaves prefixed to the Columbus letter.

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST EDITION OF COLUMBUS'
SPANISH LETTER TO LUIS DE SANT' ANGEL.

SIR,

As I know that you will have pleasure of the great victory which our Lord hath given me in my voyage, I write you this, by which you shall know that, in *twenty*¹ days I passed over to the Indies with the fleet which the most illustrious King and Queen, our Lords, gave me: where I found very many islands peopled with inhabitants beyond number. And, of them all, I have taken possession for their Highnesses, with proclamation and the royal standard displayed; and I was not gainsaid. On the first which I found, I put the name Sant Salvador, in commemoration of His high Majesty, who marvellously hath given² all this: the Indians call it Guanaham.³ The second I named the Island of Santa Maria de Concepcion, the third Ferrandina, the fourth *Fair Island*,⁴ the fifth La Isla Juana; and so for each one a new name. When I reached Juana, I followed its coast westwardly, and found it so large that I thought it might be the mainland province of Cathay. And as I did not thus find any towns and villages on the sea-coast, save small hamlets with the people whereof I could not get speech, because they all fled away forthwith, I went on further in the same direction, thinking I should not miss of great cities or towns. And at the end of many leagues, seeing that there was no change, and that the coast was bearing me northwards, whereunto my desire was contrary since the winter was already confronting us,⁵ I formed the purpose of making from thence to the South, and as the wind also blew against me, I determined not to wait for other weather and turned back as far as a port agreed upon; from which I sent two men into the country to learn if there were a king, or any great cities. They travelled for three days, and found interminable small villages and a numberless population, but nought of ruling authority; wherefore they returned. I understood sufficiently from other Indians whom I had already taken, that this land, in its continuousness, was an island; and so I followed its coast eastwardly for a hundred and seven leagues as far as where it terminated; from which headland I saw another island to the east, ten *or*⁶ eight leagues distant from this, to which I at once gave the name La Española. And I proceeded thither, and followed the northern coast, as with La Juana, eastwardly for a hundred and *seventy*⁷-eight great leagues in a direct easterly course, as with La Juana. The which, and all the others, are most strong⁸ to an excessive degree, and this extremely so. In it, there are many havens on the sea-coast, incomparable with any others that I know in Christendom, and plenty of rivers so good and great that it is a marvel. The lands thereof are high, and in it are very many ranges of hills, and most

¹ *veinte*, typographical blunder for *xxxiii*. It is corrected in the quarto.

² *Andado* in text, blunder for *ha dado*.

³ *Guanaham*, blunder for *Guanhani*.

⁴ *Isla bella*, blunder for *Isabela*.

⁵ *Encarnado* in original for *encarado* or *encarando*.

⁶ Ten or eight (*diez o ocho*) ought to be eighteen (*diez e ocho*).

⁷ Should be "eighty."

⁸ *Fortissimos*, should be *fertilisimos*: most fertile.

lofty mountains incomparably beyond the Island of Centrefrei;¹ all most beautiful in a thousand shapes, and all accessible, and full of trees of a thousand kinds, so lofty that they seem to reach the sky. And I am assured that they never lose their foliage; as may be imagined, since I saw them as green and as beautiful as they are in Spain during May. And some of them were in flower, some in fruit, some in another stage according to their kind. And the nightingale was singing, and other birds of a thousand sorts, in the month of November, round about the way that I was going. There are palm-trees of six or eight species, wondrous to see for their beautiful variety; but so are the other trees, and fruits, and plants therein. There are wonderful pine-groves, and very large plains of verdure, and there is honey, and many kinds of birds, and many various fruits. In the earth there are many mines of metals; and there is a population of incalculable number. Spañola is a marvel; the mountains and hills, and plains, and fields, and land, so beautiful and rich for planting and sowing, for breeding cattle of all sorts, for building of towns and villages. There could be no believing, without seeing, such harbours as are here, as well as the many and great rivers, and excellent waters, most of which contain gold. In the trees and fruits and plants, there are great differences from those of Juana. In this,² there are many spiceries, and great mines of gold and other metals. The people of this island, and of all the others that I have found and seen, or not seen,³ all go naked, men and women, just as their mothers bring them forth; although some women cover a single place with the leaf of a plant, or a cotton something which they make for that purpose. They have no iron or steel, nor any weapons; nor are they fit thereunto; not because they be not a well-formed people and of fair stature, but that they are most wondrously timorous.⁴ They have no other weapons than the stems of reeds in their seeding state, on the end of which they fix little sharpened stakes. Even these, they dare not use; for many times has it happened that I sent two or three men ashore to some village to parley, and countless numbers of them sallied forth, but as soon as they saw those approach, they fled away in such wise that even a father would not wait for his son. And this was not because any hurt had ever done to any of them:—on the contrary, at every headland where I have gone and been able to hold speech with them, I gave them of everything which I had, as well cloth as many other things, without accepting aught therefor—; but such they are, incurably timid. It is true that since they have become more assured, and are losing that terror, they are artless and generous with what they have, to such a degree as no one would believe but him who had seen it. Of anything they have, if it be asked for,⁵ they never say no, but do rather invite the person to accept it, and show as much lovingness as though they would give their hearts. And whether it be a thing of value, or one of little worth, they are straightways content with whatsoever trifle of whatsoever kind may be given them in return for it. I forbade that anything so worthless as fragments of broken platters, and pieces of broken glass, and strap-buckles,

¹ Ought to be Tenerife.

² *i.e.* Hispaniola.

³ y havido ni aya havido noticia.

⁴ A few lines are a little defective, and portions of words lost.

⁵ pidiendogela, for pidiendosela.

should be given them ; although when they were able to get such things, they seemed to think they had the best jewel in the world, for it was the hap of a sailor to get, in exchange for a strap, gold to the weight of two and a half castellanos, and others much more for other things of far less value ; while for new blancas¹ they gave everything they had, even though it were [the worth of] two or three gold castellanos, or one or two arrobas² of spun cotton. They took even pieces of broken barrel-hoops, and gave whatever they had, like senseless brutes ; insomuch that it seemed to me ill. I forbade it, and I gave gratuitously a thousand useful things that I carried, in order that they may conceive affection, and furthermore may be made³ Christians ; for they are inclined to the love and service of their Highnesses and of all the Castilian nation, and they strive to combine in giving us things which they have in abundance, and of which we are in need.⁴ And they knew no sect, nor idolatry ; save that they all believe that power and goodness are in the sky, and they believed very firmly that I, with these ships and crew, came from the sky ; and in such opinion, they received me at every place where I landed, after they had lost their terror. And this comes not because they are ignorant : on the contrary, they are men of very subtle wit, who navigate all those seas, and who give a marvellously good account of everything—but because they never saw men wearing clothes nor the like of our ships. And as soon as I arrived in the Indies, in the first island that I found, I took some of them by forcè, to the intent that they should learn [our speech] and give me information of what there was in those parts. And so it was, that very soon they understood [us] and we them, what by speech or what by signs ; and those [Indians] have been of much service. To this day I carry them [with me] who are still of the opinion that I come from heaven, [as appears] from much conversation which they have had with me. And they were the first to proclaim it wherever I arrived ; and the others went running from house to house and to the neighbouring villages, with loud cries of “Come ! come to see the people from heaven !” Then, as soon as their minds were reassured about us, every one came, men as well as women, so that there remained none behind,⁵ big or little ; and they all brought something to eat and drink, which they gave with wondrous lovingness. They have in⁶ all the islands very many canoes, after the manner of rowing-galleys, some larger, some smaller ; and a good many are larger than a galley of eighteen benches. They are not so wide, because they are made of a single log of timber, but a galley could not keep up with them in rowing, for their motion is a thing beyond belief. And with these, they navigate through all those islands which are numberless, and ply their traffic. I have seen some of those canoes with seventy, and eighty, men in them, each one with his oar. In all those islands, I saw not much diversity in the looks of the people, nor in their manners and language ; but they all understand each other, which is a thing of singular

¹ Copper-coins.² An arroba = 25 lbs.³ *se faran*, for *se fazan*, or *se fagan*.This sentence continues to be subjunctive after the word “Christians,” in the Sanchez-letter of Varnhagen, and the word *aiuntar*, here translated “combine” is there *ayudar* = to aid.⁵ *cadavan*, for *quedaban*.⁶ *en* omitted.

towardness for what I hope their Highnesses will determine, as to making them conversant with our holy faith, unto which they are well disposed. I have already told how I had gone a hundred and seven leagues, in a straight line from West to East, along the sea-coast of the Island of Juana; according to which itinerary, I can declare that that island is larger than England and Scotland combined; as, over and above those hundred and seven leagues, there remains for me, on the western side, two provinces whereto I did not go—one of which they call Avan, where the people are born with tails—which provinces cannot be less in length than fifty or sixty leagues, according to what may be understood from the Indians with me, who know all the islands. This other, Española, has a greater circumference than the whole of Spain from *Colibre in Catalunya*,¹ by the sea-coast, as far as Fuente Ravia in Biscay; since, along one of its four sides, I went for a hundred and eighty-eight great leagues in a straight line from West to East. This is [a land] to be desired,—and once seen,² never to be relinquished—in which (—although, indeed, I have taken possession of them all³ for their Highnesses, and all are more richly endowed than I have skill and power to say, and I hold them all in the name of their Highnesses who can dispose thereof as much and as completely as of the kingdoms of Castile—) in this Española, in the place most suitable and best for its proximity to the gold mines, and for traffic with the continent, as well on this side as on the further side of the Great Can, where there will be great commerce and profit,—I took possession of a large town which I named the city of Navidad.⁴ And I have made fortification there, and a fort (which by this time will have been completely finished) and I have left therein men enough for such a purpose, with arms and artillery, and provisions for more than a year, and a boat, and a [man who is] master of all sea-craft for making others; and great friendship with the King of that land, to such a degree that he prided himself on calling and holding me as his brother. And even though his mind might change towards attacking those men, neither he nor his people know what arms are, and go naked. As I have already said, they are the most timorous creatures there are in the world, so that the men who remain there are alone sufficient to destroy all that land, and the island is without personal danger for them if they know how to behave themselves. It seems to me that in all those islands, the men are all content with a single wife; and to their chief or king they give as many as twenty. The women, it appears to me, do more work than the men. Nor have I been able to learn whether they held personal property, for it seemed to me that whatever one had, they all took share of, especially of eatable things. Down to the present, I have not found in those islands any monstrous men, as many expected, but on the contrary all the people are very comely; nor are

¹ The eleven letters in italics are omitted from the text.

² The word *vista* deficient in consequence of a hole in the paper.

³ A few letters deficient in consequence of the paper being torn. It is curious that the words from "have skill." down to "as com[pletely]" are printed twice. In the first instance, the line which comprises them is extra-regular at the bottom of page 2, and is so blurred and broken that its duplicate presentation (with a slight variant) at the top of page 3, seems to be a deliberate repetition.

Navidad is the same as *Natividad*: he reached the spot on Christmas-day, 1492.

they black like those in Guinea, but have flowing hair ; and they are not begotten where there is an excessive violence of the rays of the sun. It is true that the sun is there very strong, notwithstanding that it is twenty-six degrees¹ distant from the equinoctial line. In those islands, where there are lofty mountains, the cold was very keen there, this winter ; but they endure it by being accustomed thereto, and by the help of the meats which they eat with many and inordinately hot spices. Thus I have not found, nor had any information of monsters, except of an island which is here² the second in the approach to the Indies, which is inhabited by a people whom, in all the islands, they regard as very ferocious, who eat human flesh. These have many canoes with which they run through all the islands of India, and plunder and take as much as they can. They are no more ill-shapen than the others, but have the custom of wearing their hair long, like women ; and they use bows and arrows of the same reed-stems, with a point of wood at the top, for lack of iron which they have not. Amongst those other tribes who are excessively cowardly, these are ferocious ; but I hold them as nothing more than the others. These are they who have to do with the women of Matremonio³—which is the first island that is encountered in the passage from Spain to the Indies—in which there are no men. Those women practise no female usages, but have bows and arrows of reed such as above mentioned ; and they arm and cover themselves with plates of copper of which they have much. In another island, which they assure me is larger than Española, the people have no hair. In this, there is incalculable gold ; and concerning these and the rest I bring Indians with me as witnesses. And in conclusion, to speak only of what has been done in this voyage, which has been so hastily performed, their Highnesses may see that I shall give them as much gold as they may need, with very little aid which their Highnesses will give me ; spices and cotton at once, as much as their Highnesses will order to be shipped, and as much as they shall order to be shipped of mastic,—which till now has never been found except in Greece, in the island of Xio⁴, and the Seignory⁵ sells it for what it likes ; and aloe-wood as much as they shall order to be shipped ; and slaves as many as they shall order to be shipped,—and these shall be from idolators. And I believe that I have discovered rhubarb and cinnamon, and I shall find that the men whom I am leaving there will have discovered a thousand other things of value ; as I made no delay at any point, so long as the wind gave me an opportunity of sailing, except only in the town of Navidad till I had left things safely arranged and well established. And in truth I should have done much more if the ships had served me as well as might reasonably have been expected. This is enough ; and [thanks to] eternal God our Lord who gives to all those who walk His way, victory over things which seem impossible ; and this was signally one such, for although men have talked⁶ or written

¹ Instead of *grados* = degrees, the text has (by a typographical error) *grâdes*.

² The word *en* = in precedes "the second" in the text.

³ So in the text ; it should be Matinino.

⁴ Chios, or Scio.

⁵ Of Genoa.

⁶ By a typographical blunder, *fallado* is found in the text, instead of *fablado*.

of those lands, it was all by conjecture, without confirmation from eyesight, importing just so much that the hearers for the most part listened and judged that there was more fable in it than anything actual, however trifling. Since thus our Redeemer has given to our most illustrious King and Queen, and to their famous kingdoms, this victory in so high a matter, Christendom should take gladness therein and make great festivals, and give solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity for the great exaltation they shall have by the conversion of so many peoples to our holy faith; and next for the temporal benefit which will bring hither refreshment and profit, not only to Spain, but to all Christians. This briefly, in accordance with the facts. Dated, on the caravel, off the Canary Islands, the 15 February of the year 1493.

At your command,

THE ADMIRAL.

POSTSCRIPT WHICH CAME WITHIN THE LETTER.

After having written this [letter], and being in the sea of Castile, there rose upon me so much wind, South and South-West, that it has caused me to lighten the vessels, however, I ran hither to-day into this port of Lisbon, which was the greatest wonder in the world; where I decided to write to their Highnesses. I have always found the seasons like May in all the Indies, whither I passed in thirty-three days, and returned in twenty-eight, but that these storms have delayed me twenty-three days running about this sea. All the seamen say here that there never has been so bad a winter, nor so many shipwrecks.

Dated the 14th of March.

Columbus sent this letter to the Escrivano de Racion. Of the islands found in the Indies. Received with another for their Highnesses.

NOTES AND VERIFICATIONS.

Particulars which indicate the relative position of the two fifteenth-century editions of
the Spanish

LETTER OF COLUMBUS.

2 leaves folio, and 4 leaves quarto.

The following lists will be found to attest certain facts:—

- 1, that the folio was printed in Spain.
- 2, that it was printed in Catalonia.
- 3, that the quarto was reprinted from it.
- 4, that one of the two (—indeed, both) was certainly printed before
October, 1493.
- 5, that the quarto was not printed in Spain.

1.

The folio is the only text which exhibits the spellings
rreal (page 1, line 4)
rrios (page 1, line 25)

This initial double-*r* is a peculiarity confined to Spain alone, not general even in Spain, and never found outside of it.

2.

There are numerous Catalanisms in the folio, some of which are also found in the quarto. (None of them occurs in the Simancas MS., or in the Valencia Varnhagen text.)

	Page	line	instead of		Page	line	instead of
1	grand	1	gran, or grande	11	siviles	2	9 ceviles
2	Sant	6	San	12	haun que	10	aun que
3	magestat	7	magestad	13	„	13	„
4	Ferrandina	8	Fernandina	14	tenen	17	tienen
5	yvierno	15	ynvierno	15	forza	23	fuerça
6	Spaña	29	España	16	conversasion	26	conversacion
7	Spañola	35	Española	17	venit, venit!	28	venid, venid!
8	hedificios	37	edificios	18	mugers	29	mugeres
9	crehencia	37	creencia	19	algu	30	algo
10	haun que	42	aun que	20	fustes	31	fustas

	Page	line	instead of		Page	line	instead of
21	huna	2	32 una	34	occident	2	46 occidente
22	hun		33 un	35	grand	3	4 gran
23	huna		33 una	36	haun que		9 aun que
24	osidente		39 occidente	37	hoffender		9 ofender
25	desir		40 decir	38	tenien		14 tenian
26	Escosia		40 Escocia	39	grand		13 gran
27	provinsias		41 provincias	40	yvierno		20 ynvierno
28	nasen		42 nacen	41	launes		31 laminas (or launas)
29	provinsias		„ provincias	42	ydolatres		38 ydolatras
30	quals		43 quales	43	haunque		44 aunque
31	Colunya		44 Coluña	44	calavera	4	5 caravela
32	Viscaya		45 Vizcaya	45	yvierno		13 ynvierno
33	grands		„ grandes	46	ha		13 a

In the preceding list many words are included the forms of which might be due to other causes as well as Catalanianism, but as there are others which are undoubtedly Catalanian in their make, and nothing else, it is allowable to include the possible and probable along with the certain, in a single category. The following remarks are worthy of consideration when the list is examined.

It is a custom in Catalan to use *s* in places where the Castilian employs *ç* or *z*. The *as* plural in Castilian is *es* in Catalan, while the *es* plural is simply *s*. The sound which Castilians write with *ue* is usually represented by *o* in Catalan, while the Castilian final *o* generally becomes *u*. The Castilian finals *ad* and *id* always appear in Catalan as *at* and *it*. The initial *Es* in Castilian is, more frequently than not, simple *S* in Catalan. The *ñ* of Castilian is *ny* in Catalan, this combination being treated as a separate letter of the alphabet. The *invierno* of Castilian is *ivern* in Catalan, which accounts for the absence of the first *n* in all the instances in which the word occurs in our text. Catalan writers were fond of prefixing a superfluous *h* before a vowel, and of inserting one between vowels. Fernando was always Ferrant or Ferrando in his own kingdom. These rules, applied to the words in the preceding list, will justify the enrolment of all of them as Catalanianisms. Without insisting however upon the full measure, there can be no question that

magestat
venit
mugers
algu
fustes
quals
grands
launes
ydolatres
calavera

are purely Catalan ; and are sufficient in themselves to verify the presumption that the folio Carta was printed in Catalonia. It follows, as a matter of course, that the press-work was done in Barcelona. The impression exhibits, further, all the tokens of haste and surreptitiousness, the text having been set up without care and without proof-reading from an ill-written original which was never meant to be published. Only in this way are the extraordinary slovenliness and blunders of the text to be accounted for. Critics who wonder at the quantity and quality of those blemishes can never have seen the rough proof produced by a printer's compositor, before the printer's reader has smoothed it into a proof for the author. During the first fifty years of typography, proofs were read with singular care and accuracy, not in the mode used at present (by which the correction is done once for all before any copies are multiplied) but in a progressive way. The sheets were read and re-read frequently during the course of impression, so that only a small number of copies would be identical. The work of correction was applied over and over again, and variations thus created which often puzzle the modern bibliographer. Of course there were circumstances in which the rule was necessarily infringed. We may imagine some friend to whom Luis de Santangel had entrusted his wonderful letter of news to read, being smitten with the desire to obtain a few copies for communication to his own friends, while under a pledge to return the letter to its owner within twenty-four hours. Only a printer could help him out of his difficulty, and even then the compositor would probably have to work from dictation, and the work be necessarily faulty. The curious duplication of a line at the end of page 2 and the beginning of page 3, seems to show that two compositors worked simultaneously in the setting up, and failed in the adjustment. The printer could not set his name to such a document, which was in itself an infraction of confidence, and a discreditable example of typography. The King and Queen would have forbidden the publication as undesirable for reasons of state-policy—such has ever been the custom of the Spanish monarchs. Columbus himself could have had no interest in making his discoveries known to the world through the press: he was not a nineteenth-century traveller in search of notoriety and pecuniary gain. His desires were gratified by the Admiralty, and the favour of the Sovereigns ; as well as the brilliant visions of his proximate enterprise. It would have been a sort of suicide on his part if he had sought to destroy all his advantages by a foolish ambition to appear in print. Luis de Santangel was a man so thoroughly devoted (as we have seen) to the interests of his royal masters, that he would have been quite as unlikely as King Ferdinand, to sanction any communication to the outer world. The desire for secrecy was natural, since none of them could anticipate that a Latin translation would within a few months put the European public in possession of all the facts. Under the circumstances, we can have no hesitation in repeating our conviction, already stated, that the *Carta al Escribano de Racion* was published at Barcelona in a hurried and surreptitious manner. The unknown date lies probably somewhere between the 5th and the 15th of April, 1493. (In the remarks upon Dati's poem given above, there is a clear testimony that a text like ours, with Catalanisms in it, preceded a lost

Latin translation, and that the lost Latin preceded the five hundred and forty-four lines of wretched Florentine verse which Dati finished on the 26 October, 1493. The interval between the first publication of the text and that of Dati's work had been long enough to furnish the latter, or the intermediary Latinist, with an opportunity of correcting several errors which we find in the Spanish folio.)

3.

The small quarto edition of the Santangel letter, of which a unique copy is found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, was considered the Editio Princeps before the discovery of the folio, and in the opinion of some, has not as yet forfeited its claim to that rank. We will now proceed to show that it was reprinted from the folio.

ABSURD BLUNDERS WHICH OCCUR IN BOTH, AND WHICH DEMONSTRATE THAT ONE OF THE TWO WAS REPRINTED FROM THE OTHER.

FOLIO.		QUARTO.				
Page	line	P.	l.	II		
	4				andado	for ha dado
	21	2	1		diez o ocho	„ diez y ocho
	23		3		clxxviii	„ clxxxviii
	24		5		fortissimas	„ fertilissimas
2	6	3	19		pidiendogela	„ pidiendosela
	7		22		quieren sea . . . quien sea	„ quier sea . . . quier sea
	24	4	17		notia	„ noticia
	„		18		entendiron	„ entendieron
	30		27		tienen todas	„ tienen en todas
	44	5	18		Colunya	„ Colibre en Catalunya
3	16	6	15		mostrudos	„ monstruos
	17		18		corredios	„ correntios
	18-19		20		didistinta	„ distinta (or distante)
	19		„		inquinocial	„ equinocial
	„		„		grādes (in folio; grandes, in 4to.)	„ grados
	„		21		ay	„ ahi
	29	7	4		Matremonio	„ Matinino
	44		29		fallado	„ fablado
	44-45		„		conlectura	„ conjectura

Of the above instances, some might of course be referred to ordinary errors or peculiarities of transcription; but with regard to

andado (= gone)	for	ha dado (= has given)
pidiendogela	for	pidiendosela
quieren sea . . . quien sea . . .	for	quier sea . . . quier sea
notia	for	noticia
didistinta	for	distinta
grandes	for	grados
fallado	for	fablado

they are so remarkable in their absurdity that if we find two fifteenth century texts both containing them, we must conclude that one was reprinted from the other, no matter how many variations occur elsewhere. The word *didistinta* is particularly significant. In the folio, the first *di* stands at the end of a line, and the word *distinta* follows on the ensuing line. The compositor evidently forgot that he had begun the word with *di* on the preceding line when he set up *distinta* instead of *stinta* at the beginning of the next. There was no such excuse for the printer of the quarto, as the word *didistinta* occurs thus in full in the middle of a line.

Another curiosity, which leads to the same conclusion, is the amplification in the Ambrosian of an abbreviation of the folio. The word *aunque* (=although) is printed in the latter (on p. 2 line 13) *haū que*. The compositor (Italian?) took *haū* as an abbreviation of *haver*, and the word consequently appears in the Ambrosian (p. 5, line 31) as *auer que*.

In order to complete the inference of the preceding paragraphs, we proceed to consider the Catalanisms of the folio in their relation to the text of the quarto.

The list, as given on a previous page, contains forty-six instances of Catalanism in the folio. In the Ambrosian quarto, there are only twenty-two, the other twenty-four being replaced by proper Castilian forms. Amongst the corrected forms are seven out of the ten selected above as being pure Catalan ; namely—

magestat
venit
mugers
algu
fustes
quals
grands

To make the statement categorically complete, we may add that, of the forty-six Catalan peculiarities—

Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, 20, 25, 26, 31, 32, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45 have been retained in the Ambrosian quarto ; while

Nos. 3, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 46 have been Castilianised.

Now, if we find a fifteenth-century impression of a letter in the Castilian language disfigured by forty-six Catalanisms ; and another fifteenth-century edition of the same letter in which twenty-two of those disfigurements are retained while twenty-four of them have disappeared ; we are justified in regarding the second as posterior in date to the first,—especially when, for other reasons, we know that one of the two was a modified reprint of the other.

The words *el frio este yvierno* referred to in the paragraph upon Dati's poem comprise one of the Catalanisms uncorrected in the Ambrosian quarto. The

Latinist who misrendered them (and thus misled Dati) is more likely to have seen and used the quarto edition,—if it was printed in Italy,—than the folio which, as has been shown above, was printed in Spain. Consequently the Ambrosian quarto may be regarded as anterior in date to September-October, 1493. It was probably printed about the end of April or the beginning of May in that year.

5.

That the Ambrosian quarto was not printed in Spain is easily demonstrable. The forms *jndias*, *jndios* (on page 1); *mjel*, *jnestimable*, *jsla* (on p. 2); *jncinan*, *jndias* (on p. 4); *jnnumerables*, *jndios* (p. 5); *jnpeto*, *jn*, *jndias*, *jndia* (p. 6); *jndias*, *jndios*, *ajuda*, *jnposibles* (p. 7); *jllustrissimos* (p. 8)—would have been impossible in a Spanish printing office in 1493. The *j* consonant was frequently replaced by *i*, and the *i* vowel was frequently replaced by *y*; but the *i* vowel was never replaced by the *j* consonant.—These instances of the use of *j* to express a vowel *i* are sufficient in themselves to show that the Ambrosian quarto was printed in a country where *j* was identical in sound with *i*. But some further illustrations may be useful to indicate the particular country.

On page 1, line 16, we find *tierra firma* for the *tierra firme* of the folio. On page 8, line 2, *christianidad* for the *christiandad* of the folio. On p. 2, line 16, *ruiseñol* for the *rui señor* of the folio. On line 28 of the same page, *creancia* for the *c'hencia* (*creencia*) of the folio. On p. 3, line 14, *ay estado* for the *aya estado* of the folio. The last three might be taken to indicate the hand of a French compositor, but two of them may also be Italian, as the first two distinctly are. If we look round for a place, outside of Spain, where in 1493 the Castilian and Catalan languages were both used at the same time—we find it only in Naples. There also we might expect the interpolation of Italianisms in a Spanish text. Consequently the Ambrosian quarto may without much hesitation be referred to a Neapolitan press about the beginning of May, 1493.

THE IVES QUARTO.

Everything which has been said of the Ambrosian quarto bears *à fortiori* application to the Ives quarto, which—whatever its age may be—was the work of a printer who endeavoured to reproduce the Ambrosian line for line.

It is only necessary to compare the last word of each line in the Ives quarto with the corresponding word in the Ambrosian; in order to discover that the former is not what its owner believes it to be. A comparative list of its blunders was prepared, but has been abandoned as supererogatory; the tract in question has really no claim to any serious consideration.

